

GW Upsets Hoyas, 65-61 (p. 14)

The HATCHET

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Tuesday, February 27, 1968

Arts & Sciences Least Threatened

by Bill Yarmy

IN LIGHT OF the National Security Council recommendation not to extend student deferments to graduate students in fields other than medicine and dentistry, GW's graduate schools will generally face an uncertain future.

To further complicate the Council's recommendation, Lt. General Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service director, has refused to change the so-called order of induction from August 1 to some other arrangement which might not place the burden of conscription so heavily on the 22-25 year age group.

Fortunately for GW's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, there is a large number of men who have already completed their service or who have passed the age of 26. In addition, there is a large number of women registered in arts and sciences.

According to Arthur E. Burns, dean of the graduate school of Arts and Sciences only 10 percent (150 male students) of the currently registered 1200 students can be classified as first year students. Burns pointed out, however, that any student drafted while in school will be given military leave, which entitles him to return to school without any question after completion of his military obligation.

As far as new admissions to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences are concerned,

Burns pointed out that within the last three weeks, 600 applications for admission to the graduate school have been received. Of the 600 applications a small number have already been processed.

Of the applications currently on hand, Burns estimates that about 300 to 400 will be accepted. And of that number, 150 will probably show up for registration. Roughly 50 percent of these students will be men, many of whom will be eligible for the draft.

In addition, Burns believes that at least 300 to 400 more applications will be received by June.

Burns estimates that "at least" 500 applicants must be accepted to fill in the 250 spaces available in the first year class.

Burns has said that he contemplates "no reduction in graduate programs" and adds that the academic program that currently exists will be continued.

While GW's Graduate School of Arts & Sciences will feel the minimal effects of the new draft regulations, GW's National Law Center which acquires most of its first year students straight out of college and has a very limited number of women registrants, faces a serious crisis.

Dean Edward A. Potts of the National Law School termed the current situation as the "guessing game of the century," because no one is really going to know what the ultimate

(See Draft, p. 7)

GW Military Recruiters Still Unwelcome: SC

by Brian Cabell

A MOTION TO welcome military recruiters to GW was rejected by a decisive 22-8 vote at the Student Council meeting last Wednesday.

The rejection, an endorsement of the past Council's position, came after a 45-minute debate on a motion put forward by Activities Director Mike McElroy. Although claiming to be "as anti-military as anyone," McElroy said "students should want and do need recruiters because they will be facing the draft."

Others supported McElroy, emphasizing that most men students will eventually enter the military service and should be allowed the opportunity to choose a preferred program. Dave Phillips, commuter representative, strongly opposed the motion.

"The central issue" stated Phillips, "is making a value judgment on the issues as they now stand, and they have not changed substantially since the last Council resolution. Reversing ourselves now would be ludicrous."

Phillips pointed to the reclassification of all Students for a Democratic Society members at the University of Oklahoma but McElroy denied this, claiming that only one had been reclassified for his political views.

Another McElroy resolution, expressing Council disapproval of the National Security Council's recent action eliminating graduate school and occupational deferments for the draft, was passed unanimously.

"This is another step toward the abolition of undergraduate deferments," McElroy claimed.

An obligation to GW graduate

students and professors was cited and Treasurer Brian O'Neill said Comptroller D. Johnson had estimated that the law school would lose \$10,000 in tuition money as a result of the latest decree.

President Jim Kincaid added that approximately 10 per cent of the graduate school would be affected. He also suggested that chaos might result if suddenly, the war in Vietnam ended and the students, who had had their education interrupted by their military obligation, all wanted to return to school at the same time.

Unanimous approval was also given to a proposal retaining the

Student Life Committee as a judicial body.

Allan May, a member of Student Life, spoke at the meeting and explained that while Student Life's advisory functions have been emphasized recently, its judicial functions are more important. He welcomed the transfer of its advisory functions to a joint Senate-Council committee but insisted that the elimination of Student Life as a judicial body would be a "setback for student involvement."

The reorganized Student Life, to be renamed the Supreme Court of Student Appeals, would handle all cases from the Student Council.

(See Council, p. 12)

Discrimination Is 'Dead Issue'

by Ben Cohen

DISCRIMINATION AND THE FRATERNITY system was discussed at the annual IFC retreat at Arlie House on Saturday. Outgoing IFC president Arnie Bellefontaine read aloud the official University policy on discrimination, which calls for "non-discrimination in intent and membership practices."

Bellefontaine noted that only one campus fraternity now has a racial clause in its charter, and a waiver of that clause is pending. "Constitutional discrimination," he said, "is a dead issue." He felt the more poignant question was that of intent pointing out that the Student Life subcommittee on discrimination, of

which he is a member, will evaluate the existence of this intent.

The validity of such an endeavor was questioned by several members. Mark Cymrot, president of DTD, said "I'm afraid that some of the people on this committee just don't like fraternities and want to see them off campus."

Bellefontaine felt "the really contentious issue is sororities and a number of other campus organizations." He emphasized the need for fraternities to help sororities iron out their discrimination problems.

Bellefontaine was optimistic about the effect on fraternities of the discrimination investigation.

Greek Spirit Promoted During Week's Events

YESTERDAY MARKED the beginning of the second annual Interfraternity Council Panhellenic Greek Week. This event, to promote the Greek spirit, will continue through Saturday, March 2.

Featuring House Decorations throughout the week, the event will culminate with the IFC-Panhel Sing on Friday night and a formal Prom Saturday evening.

Monday through Thursday each fraternity will present a publicity stunt in front of the Student Union. The stunts will be 20 minutes long and three fraternities will participate each day.

This afternoon a delegation from the Russian Embassy will participate in an IFC sponsored forum in Lower Lisner at 3:30 p.m. The Greeks will battle the Faculty and the Third Precinct in basketball at the Tin Tabernacle tomorrow, and Thursday

will feature a symposium with Senators Mark Hatfield and John Tower at 8 p.m. in Mitchell Hall.

Each fraternity will carry out a community service project during the week.

Recipients of the titles of Greek King and Queen, Outstanding Fraternity Man of the Year, and Outstanding Professor of the Year will be announced at the Sing. Trophies will be presented to the fraternities and sororities winning the House Decorations Contest.

On Saturday morning at 11 a.m. the Olympic Contests will be held, featuring chariot races, pie-eating contests, and a tug-o-war.

The finale of Greek Week will come Saturday evening with the IFC Prom to be held at the Mayflower Hotel from 9 p.m. to 12 midnight. The Magnificent Men will provide the entertainment.

Greek Week Schedule

Tuesday, Feb. 27

A FORUM with the Russian Embassy Delegation will be held at 3:30 p.m. in Lower Lisner.

Wednesday, Feb. 28

GREEK ALL-STAR basketball team will play a team of faculty members and Third Precinct policemen at the Tin Tabernacle at 8 p.m.

JUDGING for the House Decorations commences at noon.

Thursday, Feb. 29

A SYMPOSIUM on the future of the Greek System with Senators John Tower and Mark Hatfield, members of the faculty and administrations, and stu-

150 Campaign For McCarthy

TEN REPRESENTATIVES of the McCarthy for President group traveled to New Hampshire last weekend. The students, part of a contingent of 150 from the D.C. area, distributed literature, talked to voters, and helped set up local town organizations.

Another trip will be made the weekend of March 8-10, two days before the primary. Those interested should contact Caroline Rose at 676-7862.

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Law School Grading System Maintained Due to Draft

PLANS TO CHANGE the grading system of the Law School have been dropped because of the present status of the draft, according to Larry Adlerstein, their originator.

"I am convinced that the proposed reforms would have been to the interest of the law center," he stated, "but it is unfortunate that such a war must detract from our lives and institutions once again."

He explained that de-emphasizing grades is possible only when every student could be a "qualified" lawyer, but that, as a result of the recent ruling making law students draftable, the standards of admission in the law school will "probably drop."

Dean Edward A. Potts of the law school stated, however, that admissions would not meet minimum standards, but that the

school would accept more applicants in hopes of obtaining a class of adequate size.

The school cannot initiate new programs Potts pointed out, until August or September when the

draft situation will be more stable. Adlerstein commented that his committee plans to propose other grading reforms which will make the present system "more efficient and equitable."

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McCarthy Offers 'Realistic Alternative'



SANFORD GOTTLEIB, Director of SANE, speaks to students at the McCarthy rally held last Tuesday.

"WE MUST EITHER move Johnson or remove him," said Sanford Gottlieb at the GW students for McCarthy Rally, Tuesday, Feb. 20. He explained that protest marches, letters and speeches have failed.

Gottlieb, Executive Director of SANE and Director of the National Speaker's Bureau of McCarthy for President, continued that Johnson doesn't want to be "the first President to lose a war." Consequently, "he has involved himself in a war in which he cannot get out." Because of "historical hangups," he is "thinking in terms of the 1930's in Europe, rather than the 1960's in Asia."

McCarthy is the only declared candidate offering a realistic alternative to Johnson's Vietnam policy, Gottlieb says. Gottlieb feels that circumstances are "favorable" to McCarthy's success.

Johnson's nomination could conceivably be blocked on the first ballot, Gottlieb continued, which would bring the convention into bargaining. Then Johnson "must compromise in order to win."

If McCarthy loses but makes a strong showing, it will be a "signal" to the Republicans, he stated. Most are not so committed to stated policies as Johnson, he said, they have more "flexibility."

"There is no knowledge that Senator McCarthy will lose," Gottlieb concluded. "If he loses badly, then there can be no talk of a strong peace sentiment in this country. If he does well...the peace movement will be in the big leagues." He emphasized that "votes are gotten by hard work" for the candidate, and "we must go into the streets and translate the good emotions into votes."

Miller Awarded Beaumont Prize

FIRST PRIZE in the GW School of Medicine Beaumont Society Research competition went to Paul D. Miller, Thursday, Feb. 22.

Miller, a sophomore in the GW Med School, was recognized for his work on "The Effect of Hyperbaric Oxygenation on Cardiorespiratory in the Albino Rat."

Prizes were also given to R.G. Heinze, Sherwood Barefoot, Jr., and Paul H. D'Amato for second, third and fourth places respectively.

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CAMPUS INTERVIEWS

MARCH 12

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IFC Retreat

Community Service Pledged

IN HIS OPENING remarks at the second annual IFC retreat at Arlie House on Saturday, outgoing IFC president Arnie Bellefontaine called on the delegates to "ask reasonably intelligent, coherent questions," and to "institute new policies." "If we digress," he warned, "we have nothing to lose but our future."

The day included discussion of a host of topics; speeches by representatives from ZBT and Phi Kappa Psi national headquarters, who outlined possible points of improvement for the GW fraternity system; and the installation of the 1967-68 IFC officers.

The group discussing "Interfraternity Relations" moved for the establishment of a junior IFC which, John Schlosser hoped, will help make pledges "good Greeks generally, rather than just good brothers in one house." They called for the establishment of a committee to work with the University in securing money for the building fund, and also hoped to set up a co-executive committee with Panhell to coordinate social and other activities.

It was felt that the IFC should sponsor more group projects. Bart Loring noted "several houses now have foster children abroad. Instead of individual

houses spending this money," he said "it would be excellent for the Greek system to do something like this." Speaking of the Gate and Key, he said "any group that can spend four to five hundred dollars for a party tonight should be able to come up with a few shekles for community service."

A group headed by Arnie Bellefontaine discussed "University and Community Relations and the Role of the IFC Therein." They examined the question of discrimination within the Greek system. (see story p. 1) Several members felt that sororities, not fraternities, were the key issue in the discrimination controversy. It was noted that many sororities require that girls be sponsored for admission by alumnae. Gene Vincent thought that in many cases sororities favor a girl, but she cannot get an alumna to sponsor her. Bruce Couvill pointed out that sororities feel their recommendations system is equivalent to fraternities' alumni blackballs; and some sororities, he said, cannot change this (discriminatory) policy without dis-affiliating from their national. Bart Kogan said he knew of a case in which two colored girls had been

cleared by the alumnae of one sorority, but some of the younger sisters had blocked their admittance because, he said, they felt it would be "degrading" to accept them.

Hatchet coverage of the discussion on discrimination was terminated when Mark Cymrot requested "for the right of free discussion" that the reporter leave. Cymrot, however, did invite him to return and cover the remainder of the meeting.

The question of the IFC writing position papers was discussed. Bellefontaine noted that the Student Council is not necessarily representative of the student body in all its position statements. It was generally agreed that the IFC could be more representative of its constituents because of closer contact. Bob Kagan suggested that these statements be confined to "things we can do something about" like classes and University policies, rather than national issues.

Career Interviews

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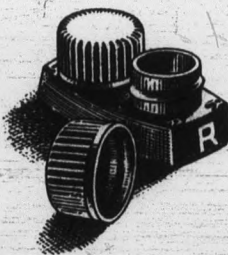
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Greek King & Queen Voting To Be Held

VOTING FOR the Greek King and Queen will be held Wednesday Feb. 28, and Thursday, Feb. 29 from 11 a.m. - 5 p.m. The voting booth will be inside the Student Union.

Any male student may vote for the Greek Queen, and any female student may vote for the Greek King.

Candidates for Queen are: Chelsea Allison, Zeta Tau Alpha; Barbara Gialmo, Kappa Delta; Arlyne Katz, Phi Sigma Sigma; Marilyn Miller, Pi Beta Phi; Liz Nelson, Delta Gamma; and Jane Oliver, Alpha Delta Pi. Names of the Greek King finalists will be announced today and be at the polls tomorrow.

Stone at Convocation

Urbanization--An Asset

DR. GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE delivered the convocation address to 609 graduating students last Thursday at Constitution Hall.

Dr. Stone, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and Professor of English at N.Y.U., spoke on "The City, The World, and The Imagination." He

said that GW's urbanization was an asset. He liked GW to Columbia, Chicago, and UCLA and praised the city location because "that's where the problems are, that's where the action is, that's where the ferment of ideas, as well as the distresses of culture shock are liable to be."

An honorary Doctor of Laws

degree was presented to Dr. Stone and Dr. Vincent du Vigneaud, Nobel Laureate in Chemistry and Professor of Chemistry at Cornell received an honorary Doctor of Science degree. He is a former GW professor.

University President Lloyd H. Elliott gave his charge to the graduating students. He challenged them "to take the first step toward a cleaner world, a more helpful personal relationship, and a more peaceful society."

Eight students received bachelors degrees with special honors or distinction. They are Joanne Bodnar, Elaine Feidelman, Arthur Gardner, Margaret Glenn, Hanna Marks, Margarita Mazzeo, Kathleen Peak and Lawrence Pearson. Thirty doctoral degrees were also conferred at the convocation.

The Reverend Kenneth Jay Sharp, Canon Pastor, the Washington Cathedral gave the invocation and benediction. Music was provided by the GW Orchestra, under the direction of George Steiner.

USSR Diplomats Speak at Forum

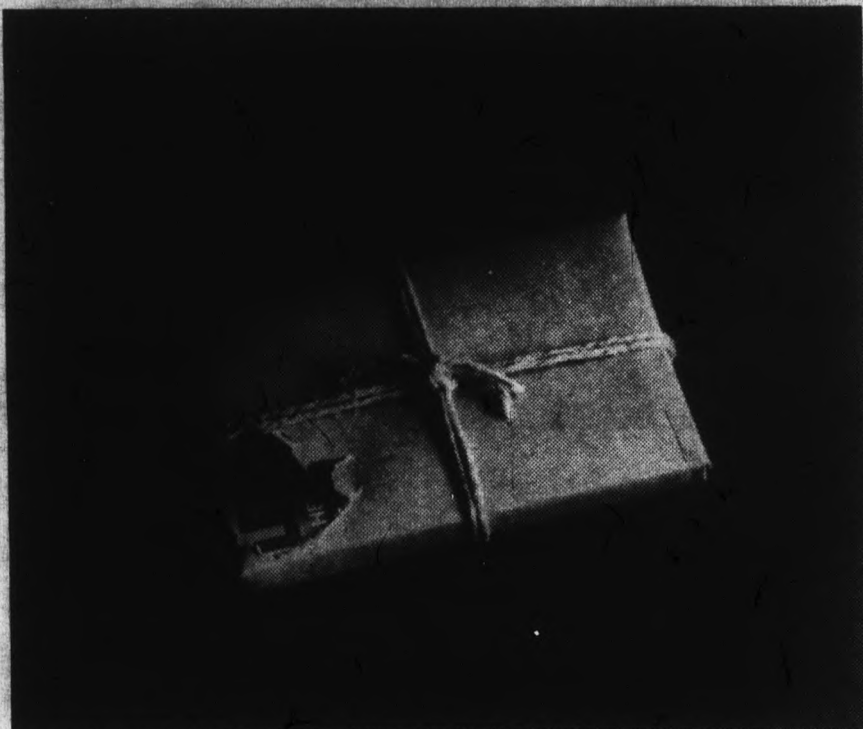
TWO CAREER diplomats from the Soviet Embassy will be featured in an open forum sponsored by the Interfraternity Council this afternoon in Lower Lisner at 3:30 p.m.

Appearing at the forum will be G. Bogachev, First Secretary and Chief Information Officer at the embassy, and B. Sedov, Second Secretary and officer in charge of Press and Television Affairs. Both men will answer questions from the student body.

The Soviet Embassy, through its Public Relations Officer, A. Townelli, will also provide the forum with a photographic exhibition prepared by TASS, the Soviet News Agency.

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Draft, from p. 1

Law Students-Face Draft Crisis

mate outcome will be until late August or early September.

Complicating the matter is the so-called independence of the local boards which in essence gives them the prerogative of interpreting General Hershey's telegram as either a mandate or a recommendation.

As an example, Potts told the Hatchet the case of two different draft boards, each giving two different interpretations of Hershey's directive. A Florida board told a GW law student "not to worry" while a New York board told another student that it would

follow Hershey's "order" to the "T."

As a consequence of all of this confusion, Potts said that the law school will have to "overselect" in the hope of maintaining the minimum class size. However, Potts did not characterize this process of over-selection as a "lowering of the standards." "Even though the Law School will probably accept well over 1,000 applicants in the hope of filling a class of 275, these applicants would ordinarily not have been selected, not for the reason that

they were not good enough, but because someone else was better."

While taking more applicants might remedy the problem of a freshman law school class, there apparently is no remedy for the problem of the first year law students who will be faced with an induction when their 2-S deferments expire this coming June.

While Potts believes that it is 'inconceivable' that they (draft boards) will wipe out the graduate schools, Burnes feels that the administration will do nothing to change the present draft law.



This little night owl leads a daytime life when the first spring sun appears. A neo-classic nicety, impeccably tailored like all John Meyer sleepwear convertibles. It comes in an appealing Barclay open stripe (a soft mix of Dacron® polyester and cotton). And, as befits a pinafore, it is demurely edged with lace. In good-little-girl colors: blue, orange, yellow or green on a pristine white background \$10. Now being shown at discerning stores everywhere.

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THE HATCHET, Tuesday, Feb. 27, 1968 -- 7

Correspondents To Appear

CORRESPONDENT MARVIN KALB of CBS and Jim Lucas of Scripps-Howard will be panelists on "The State Department and the Vietnam War," at the next National Press Club Student Seminar, Tuesday, March 5, at 6:30 pm.

A dinner is included in the \$1 ticket price.

Tickets, which must be obtained before noon Friday, March 1 are available from the journalism department, Library room 406, 407.

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All we offer is fairly good spaghetti, chianti, and that sort of stuff. The intellectual stimulation we expect from you. We've tried it in the past and have not been disappointed. We just feel that there are more of you floating around whom we are not reaching.

The menu, as you have noted, is not bagels and lox. We are, therefore, implying no ethnic exclusivity. Topics of discussion range from A to Z. Their only common denominator is that they are stimulating.

We don't have any points to make; that is, we don't need the activity. On the other hand, we do think there are those of you who would find this meaningful, and we want to make ourselves available.

One thing we feel we can ask, even of "egg heads," is, if you would like to join us March 3, at 6 P.M., to lift the telephone, call EM 2-7100, and let us know how much spaghetti to put in the pot (not vice versa!).

In all seriousness we have found these evenings extremely fruitful, whether they involve five or fifty. We would prefer the latter. Please be our guest.

The Washington Hebrew Congregation.

Editorials

Stay Ahead

IS A DRUG POLICY on this campus needed? And if one is needed, can a student-faculty committee, brought together by the administration, effectively draw a rational policy?

The recently formed drug committee is swamped with problems, and has few alternatives: it can conclude that federal and local drug laws should be enforced on campus, it can say nothing, or it can look broadly at the problem and recommend policy based on the adequacy and fairness of the present laws. Unfortunately, the committee is not likely to recommend policy in opposition to the current laws, but it should keep this option in mind.

Whether drug laws should be enforced is, without a doubt, questionable. Scientific experimentation has shown marijuana (by far the most widely used drug on campuses) to be safer than alcohol. But it is still classed as a "narcotic," and the legalize marijuana campaign is the outgrowth of this classification. For the University to set staunch policy favoring enforcement of drug laws, when the laws themselves are in a major state of flux, would be absurd.

And further, GW now has a drug policy, formed through precedent, which no one has yet attacked. University officials have tried to keep drug problems (of users) within the University; they have helped student offenders who have been arrested and attempted to keep them from being prosecuted. And University officials have not cooperated with federal and local narcotics bureaus in their desire to place narcotics agents in University dormitories.

Moreover, drug use on campus, which affects both students and faculty, is an individual action. Before a committee starts to make policy on an individual matter, members of that committee, under supervision, should experience marijuana; thus, through understanding and education, they can better formulate a policy which is to affect individual members of the University community.

It is understandable that the administration should seek advice on such a pressing and important issue. We hope, however, that the committee can take action which, in addition to protecting members of the University Community, will begin to counteract the serious deficiencies in United States drug laws.

Athlete Power

REQUIRING a varsity athlete, after two hours of practice a day in his sport, to participate in basic physical education is, to say the least, silly.

The Hatchet pointed to this problem a year and a half ago. No action has yet been taken.

Physical education, as the course is now taught, is little more than 50 minutes of exercise three days a week. A member of the University crew team, for example, who for all of second semester arises daily at 6 a.m. to two hours of heavy rowing and in addition runs perhaps three miles, surely fulfills his exercise quota.

Waiving of such a requirement, in addition to being logical, could serve as an added attraction to athletes thinking of coming to GW.



Urban Careers Offers Jobs In D.C. Area

A CHANCE for college juniors and seniors to participate in local government and local problems is offered through the Urban Careers project. The program was initiated last year and has been expanded after proving to be very successful.

Jobs in and around the metropolitan area are open to qualified students. Job opportunities range from architecture to social work.

Periodic seminars that apply to almost all majors further enhance the program as well as all aspects of urban government during a time when there is increasing need for strong city governments.

The program, open to all students attending college in the D.C. area and to district residents, entails a full summer of 89 days employment which includes an orientation to local government by local urban leaders. Recruitment representatives will be at Strong Hall lounge tonight at 6:30.

Letters to the Editor

Dievish, Continued

Thank you for making this space available for a continuing exposition of the seemingly obvious, viz., the etymology and semantics of the word dievish, a recently coined technical term which describes the relationship between grades and education. Using a new word three times, as we all know, makes it ours; hence, as a start, we might use it (1) by analogy, (2) through example, and (3) therapeutically.

(1) GWU course "31-32 Survey of Western Art (3-3)" IS TO "USAF course, "Enemy Aircraft Silhouette Visual Identification (WWII)" AS present grading systems ARE TO (a) Utility, (b) Efficiency, (c) Dispatch, (d) Productivity in education. Anyone who finds this multiple choice an embarrassment of riches is dievish. (Of course, multiple choice tests aren't easy, but no one has promised that getting rid of dievishness is easy either.)

(2) A philosopher who argues that our present grading system is rational in the Aristotelian sense even though it seems to be true that Grades no longer serve the goals of education but have replaced those goals is (a) not a philosopher, (b) is confused, (c) is dievish, (d) all of the above. (Amazing, isn't it, how a little practice in test taking improves performance?)

(3) Dievishness gone, no need to take notes on the occasion of being transformed by a lecture since, if and when this happens, (a) you go away with the lecture a part of you, (b) the truth shall set men free, (c) the university exists to make things clear, (d) all of the above and more. (Feel better?)

/s/ Patrick Gallagher
Adjunct Professor

*Watch this space!

lines and gripe about the conditions. Our "statesmen" point the finger at soap box orators, not at bad schools, lack of jobs, poor housing, and social discrimination.

A white agitator could yell himself hoarse at Rock Creek Park and about the only crowd he would attract is a flock of pigeons. Why? Simply because there in that affluent white area there isn't anything to get mad about.

Truly our do-nothing Congressional coalition is out of touch with the urgency of the problem. Watch them, for example, make hamburger out of President Johnson's multi-billion-dollar housing request. If the press wants to exploit a credibility gap, they should look not to the White House, but to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, they should look to the Capitol.

Now to bring the point home: another place to be looked to is a cozy, complacent college about five blocks from the White House. There you find the smug GW students whose greatest concerns are this week's fraternity party and whether he got a B on the six week's English exam.

So what can you do? When Rev. King brings the Black masses to Washington this April and places the problem at Congress' doorstep, you be there. Support the march. . . Or watch the American dream go up in smoke.

/s/ Roger Mills

Buchwald Thanks

Unaccustomed as I am to writing Letters to the Editor, I just wanted to say thank you to all the students at George Washington and to let them know how grateful we were for all the support they gave us during our recent Telethon.

I don't think it would have come off at all if it hadn't been for the use of Lisner Auditorium and also for the spirit of everyone at your school.

You went all out to help us. Thanks from everyone on the Junior Village Telethon Committee.

/s/ Art Buchwald

Hoya's Explicated

IT HAS USUALLY been the custom of the literate, regarding the rag your university publishes as its Newspaper, to accept the always incompetent, and usually incorrect, reporting for its exact worth, or lack of it. But your issue of 20 February, 1968, was in error over an issue I could not ignore.

"What the hell's a Hoya?" has long been a cheer of many schools to play Georgetown, GW being only one of the more recent to mimic the cry. "Hoya Saxa" was first the cheer of the football team fielded by Ryan Hall in 1876 and it was the composite of some Greek and Latin phrases from language courses then mandatory at intellectual centers.

Your suggestion that "Hoya Saxa" was a cheer of Roman soldiers is really no more preposterous than the usual drivel of the Hatchet, but it is significant. "What the hell's a Hoya?" An educated colonial, baby.

/s/ Mike Hadto, GU '68

HATCHET

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April March

So I was on the Hill the other day again, this time watching history in the making, watching our huffing, puffing pillars of white power defeat the cloture vote to stop the filibuster on the civil rights bill in the Senate. Mind you, this bill being filibustered was a radical bill, a bill to turn DC into a citadel of Black power. It wasn't even a moderate bill to appropriate money for community development of the slums. Rather it was a modest bill which would make it a federal crime to injure people attempting to exercise their civil rights. Attached to it was an open housing provision. The bill would only in some small way help to ameliorate what has become Uncle Sam's second biggest hang-up.

Ev Dirksen and crew decided it would have to be watered down further to make it peaches and cream for the conservatives. I wonder, for example, how many Congressmen and Senators have been over to 14th and U Sts. I am willing to bet odds more, far more have visited Saigon.

As a result, when Congress looks to the causes of our urban race riots, what do they produce? A law against soap box orators who cross state

Korean War Continues

by Hong-Kyoon An
International Student from Korea

IT IS NOT KNOWN whether the kidnapping of the Pueblo and the North Korean attempt to assassinate the South Korean President and the US ambassador in Seoul by armed guerrillas were pre-planned and coordinated acts or not. What South Koreans are most wary about is whether the U.S. will take an unduly concessive attitude toward North Korean authorities in a desperate move for the safe return of the Pueblo crew.

As far as South Koreans are concerned, arguments over violation of the North Korean territorial waters by the Pueblo are irrelevant, perhaps even detrimental, in solving the unfortunate incident. In the minds of Koreans, the war that was provoked by the North Korean Communists eighteen years ago has never ended, and will not end as long as the northern Communist regime is determined to take over the South. While at present the most trusted ally, the U.S., may be too occupied by the Vietnamese war and wishes to banish the unpleasant memory of the Korean war into oblivion, the wound inflicted upon Koreans during the three years of bloody battle is still fresh, and the renewed threat from the North is real.

Coordinated or coincidental, simultaneous occurrence of the Pueblo incident and the North Korean armed attack in Seoul has resulted in unexpected damage to the Korea-U.S. relationship—a dear price for the Pyongyang regime.

Korean's suspicion toward the American reliability was first aroused when the U.S. failed, consciously or unconsciously, to perceive, as much as Koreans, the impact of crisis caused by the infiltration of the gang of the North Koreans, which may be but a prelude to the future intrusion of the South in greater intensity, and when the U.S. concentrated her effort exclusively to retrieve the kidnapped ship and her crew. The secret meeting of the U.S. delegates with North Koreans without the South Korean representation at Panmunjom further heightened the indignation and dismay of South Koreans. Now, not only were the fundamental interests of Korea more or less disregarded, but the political position of South Korea vis-a-vis North Korea was unmistakably weakened. The natural reaction of Koreans was an outcry for self-reliance. Proposals such as calling back troops from the Vietnam front or requesting return of the operational control of the Korean Armed Forces from

the United Nations Command are in effect more than diplomatic gestures to extract more military and economic assistance from the U.S. The prevailing air of urgency was well expressed by the Seoul Government when it announced plans to construct defense industries and mobilization and reorganization of reserve units and civil-defense corps, measures all too sacrificial for sustained growth of her economy, which only began to make visible signs of progress several years ago.

The Washington attitude towards the Korean situation is markedly restrained and low-postured, perhaps due to the belated realization of the seriousness of the situation and justifiable grievances of South Korea.

Even the papers, usually unsympathetic, often critical, of the policies of the Korean Government in the past, have expressed sober concern and caution without cynicism. While lending understanding ears to the demands of South Korea, however, the steps and measures that the U.S. Government is willing to take against the North Korean threats are not totally satisfactory to the South Koreans so far. What Korea demands is more material assistance, but beyond that, an assurance that the U.S. will take a joint stand with Koreans to deter possible North Korean offensives in any form against the South. The Koreans believe appeasement only encourages the Communists and plants seed for graver consequences. South Korea realize: it cannot defend itself without the U.S. support against the threat from North Korea whose armament exceeds that of the South by a three-to-one ratio. Most of North Korea's arms are provided by the Soviet Union and Communist China without extended fanfare.

South Korea also realizes that further complications of their U.S. relationship only benefit their mutual adversary. Notwithstanding temporary discord, the Seoul Government will seek a closer unity with the U.S. and attempt to bring them in more directly to the Korean scene. The U.S. for its part, will try to mitigate the weariness and the indignation of the South Korea, as well as preserving room for independent maneuvering to retrieve the Pueblo and her crew. In pursuing their common cause, the U.S. will be expected to view the opinions of the South Koreans as a sign of national growth, pride, and determination; the U.S. should reassure her indebted ally of the much sought shield.

Panhellenic Power

Equality--Sorority wise

by James Goodhill
and Brian Cabell

BLACK POWER, it appears, has finally hit the GW campus. Black students have determined to integrate that great bastion of student power: the sororities.

"Panhellenic power!" is the cry of these young radicals, a demand which could, conceivably, lead to revolution on this campus. Fortunately, however, GW's black nationalists have chosen to use rational, non-violent means to achieve their goals.

The first meeting of the Black Student's Union revealed that GW's Negroes, unlike their unthinking brothers in the streets, will attempt to achieve their awesome, yet admirable, goals through respectable means. Several resolutions were passed at this first meeting, some of which, we feel, are destined for greatness:

"All girls are created equal, sororitywise. We Negro girls want to be in sororities. Please, let us be your sororities. . ."

"Ask not what sororities can do for Negroes. Ask what we, as Negroes, can do for sororities. We'll do anything. Honest."

Of course, despite these initial, reasonable demands, the situation could deteriorate if the sororities resisted this sinister infiltration and held demonstrations, chanting "We like Lurleen!" or "Our house is our plantation!"

But probably, and regrettably we might add, some radical will have infiltrated the movement by

this time and demonstrations will follow. A sitdown in front of the Sigma Chi house on Derby Day might occur.

It is to be hoped that these efforts will achieve sorority desegregation but if sororities still persist in discriminating, violent action will have to be employed. Some extremists have already suggested that members of the Black Student's Union disguise themselves as Indians some night and, acting swiftly and decisively, intercept and drain the contents of the Slaters' truck delivering vital supplies to a sorority tea.

Sniper fire from Superdorm on Derby Day is a possibility. Or Street might be mined on the day of the Chariot Races.

Ah, but don't be alarmed, because the administration is taking immediate action on the matter of sorority integration. Vice President William Smith has asked for reassurances of non-discrimination from the sororities and Miss Susan Hayes, President of the Panhellenic Council, has, in cooperation, told all her sorority sisters to shut up. Simply because there isn't a single Negro in any GW sorority doesn't mean that there's discrimination.

Token moves will have to be taken, however, to appease GW's young Negro radicals. We wholeheartedly support the administration's recent proposal to set up a committee which might, perhaps, look into possible discrimination by some of our allegedly segregated sororities

and, hopefully, submit a report of recommendations which could, quite possibly, end sorority discrimination by the year 1985.

Wolf's Whistle

Shot Down

by Dick Wolfsie

LAST TUESDAY'S Hatchet carried the story concerning a student at this University who has been firing bullets into windows at Crawford Hall on Saturday nights. Assistant Dean of Woman Marianne Phelps told one Hatchet reporter, "He just didn't exercise good judgement, there was no malicious intent."

I called Miss Phelps to confirm this outrageous story. . .

"Good morning, Dean of Woman's office."

"This is the Hatchet calling, we. . ."

"Could you please speak faster. There are some students firing rifles at me from across the street."

"Why don't you call the police."

"Don't be silly, it's just good clean fun. Anyway, they're only trying to wound me."

"Miss Phelps, isn't there any way the University can help people like that."

"Certainly, we can get them telescopic lenses, radar, and a list of occupied rooms to shoot at."

"Miss Phelps, it seems to me you're taking this whole thing rather lightly."

"Look, any girl who's still in her dorm room at eleven o'clock on a Saturday night, deserves to be shot."

"Couldn't the Campus Guards have been some help?"

"Not really, we don't let them date our co-eds."

"Look Miss Phelps, I've never met you (although I have a feeling I will after I print this conversation), but it seems to me this guy should have been arrested."

"I'm afraid that isn't possible. You see, the student who has been shooting bullets is the only resident in Calhoun hall that knows which rooms to look out of in order to see the girls in Crawford undressing."

"And you're afraid that if he's arrested, he'll tell everybody which rooms."

"No, actually, we're afraid he won't."

LITTLE MAN ON CAMPUS



"YOU SHOULD HAVE SEEN HIM CRINGE WHEN I TOLD HIM JUST WHAT HE COULD DO WITH HIS COURSE."

Spring Training

by Jeff Sheppard

SPRING TRAINING has started for the 1968 presidential season. Most of the teams have reported to their training sites and are working themselves into shape for the long season ahead. The first exhibition game, to be held in New Hampshire, should give fans some idea of who will win the pennant in August. Here is the way the two leagues shape up:

Democratic League

Lyndon Johnson Bombers—It is generally believed the Bombers will again win the Democratic League Pennant, but a World Series victory is not a certainty this year. Manager Johnson, who has become unpopular with the fans, has not given any indication of the type of offense he will employ. Although many members of his team have left, it is believed that "Hubie" Humphrey will still be in Johnson's bullpen.

Republican League

Richard Nixon Perennials—Favored to win the pennant as in 1960, but most writers feel the Perennials lack the depth for a World Series victory. They have changed strategy, going for the single run rather than the big inning. Many feel the perennials have lost the winning touch, if they ever had it.

George Romney Ramblers—An early favorite, the Ramblers seem to have lost most of their offense. The Ramblers have always been poor on defense. They will probably be taken to the cleaners when regular play starts.

Nelson Rockefeller Good Guys—Manager Rockefeller has not agreed to terms for the '68 season, but once signed could prove strong enough to beat the Perennials. Rockefeller injured himself while taking out the garbage at his New York home, however, and only time will show the effect on the Good Guys' pennant hopes.

Ronald Reagan Thespians—Formerly the Barry Goldwater Menaces, the team now sports a new name and a new manager. The Thespians have the potential to win the pennant, but may flounder in the World Series due to the trauma of 1964.

There is another team, the George Wallace Wasps, who are in a league by themselves. The Wasps will win the pennant, but no one knows how they will fit into the World Series, which has traditionally been between two teams. It is expected that rather than enact a merger, the two major leagues will try to buy out the Wasps. One thing is certain it will be very costly.

Arts and Entertainment



FREDERIC FRANKLIN as Dr. Coppellius. "His concern for expression and musical awareness were always with him." Franklin also is the artistic director of the National Ballet who performed the work Saturday.

National Ballet

Virtuosity Uneven

by David Parker

THE NATIONAL BALLET, led by Marilyn Burr as Swanilda and Ivan Nagy as her lover, Franz, gave an uneven, if not careless performance of Delibes' "Coppelia," Saturday evening at Lisner.

The ballet is the story of a doll maker who creates a beautiful caricature of women whom he calls Coppelia. A neighborhood lad falls in love with the doll, thinking that she is real. The lad Franz, betrothed to Swanilda, enters the doll maker's house to find his love. Swanilda and her friends have previously broken into the house to find Coppelia. Franz enters and tells the doll maker of his love. The old man pretends to be happy and offers the boy wine which contains a sleeping potion. He then brings out Coppelia, but it is Swanilda in the doll's clothes. Referring to a book of magic, the old man tries to transfer the soul of Franz to the doll. The 'doll' comes to life, but soon becomes unmanageable. As Swanilda sets the other dolls in motion, the old man discovers the real doll, and Swanilda and Franz escape in the resulting confusion.

The final scene shows that love conquers all, and the two amants win a dowry for being married on the day of the 'Fete de la cloche,' there is general rejoicing, and much happiness to all in love.

That is the story, involved and melodramatic as it may seem. It provides a good framework for performers to show off their virtuosity, especially in the imitations of the dolls, and in the final scene. This is precisely what the performers appeared to be doing, with little thought towards continuity or expression. The story is clear to the audience because they have read the provided synopsis. The performers seem to rely on the synopsis and merely drift from scene to scene, waiting for their chance at display. This aesthetic

may pass well in "The Al Jolson Story," but it does not serve to any purpose but boredom and a bad performance in the ballet.

An example from the third scene might suffice to show the point. Ivan Nagy danced in mediocrity through the first two scenes. He finally got his chance to dance, all by himself, to show the audience what he could do. That is precisely what he did, or perhaps to be more correct, he showed the audience what he could not do. He executed several leaps. The leaps were prepared for by a series of easy pirouettes. And this is what it looked like. It was not music and movement in union, it was obvious choreography, one pace following another.

Marilyn Burr as Swanilda excelled, but she seemed entirely at odds with the corps and the orchestra. We might ask her if that is the price of virtuosity?

The best performance was given by Frederic Franklin as the doll maker, Dr. Coppellius. Franklin is the artistic director of the Ballet, and does staging work. Several times a year he is called out of dance retirement to perform in non-dance ballet roles. As the doll maker, he rushed back and to, around the stage in a senile fashion that fit his character. Though he did no actual dancing, his concern for expression and musical awareness were always with him.

There is one other performer who seems to share Mr. Franklin's awareness in the art. Anita Dyché played the allegorical figure of Dawn, and was a perfect incarnation of the mood.

Two performers however, do not make a good ballet. The shaky sets, seemingly a tradition with the company, the inept orchestra, and the apparent egotism of the dancers, all contribute to keeping the company in the ranks of the fair, but never the good. I could not help but wonder as Frederic Franklin sat watching the corps in the final scene, if he was shaking his head for a purpose?

'In White America'

Experimental Mediocrity

by Robin Warshaw

"IN WHITE AMERICA" by Martin Duberman. Directed by Robert Page. Lighting by Pat McMahon. Folk-singing by Laura Sims. GW Experimental Theatre at the Agora.

THE CAST

Laura Castro
Peggy Cooper
Don Larson
Tommy Noonan
Robert Page
Bundy Price

THE DYNAMIC beginning GW's Experimental Theater had earlier this year with "The Madness of Lady Bright" has grown lukewarm with its most recent production, Martin Duberman's "In White America." Divided into two acts, "Slavery" and "Emancipation," the excellent script documents actual occurrences and writings from the chronicles of the American Negro's battle for equality. The direction, by Robert Page, was integral in saving the play from the mediocre performances of four of the six members of the cast.

In "Slavery," the cast divided themselves on stage, the three Negro members on one side, the three white on the other, reciting alternately in a two-from-column-A-one-from-column-B fashion. During the second act, "Emancipation," the cast formed an integrated line to symbolize the "great advancements" that were sure to take place with freedom. The lack of scenery and variety of roles portrayed by each member of the cast were planned to highlight the forceful dialogue, but the lighting effects were done so poorly as to make the entire production slow and choppy.

However, the basic problem

was with the performers themselves. I don't know how anyone could attempt to play Thomas Jefferson, John Brown, Andrew Johnson and Woodrow Wilson, and come out in all of the parts sounding like Pat Paulsen, but it was done. Granted, playing a diverse number of roles is difficult, but most of the speeches sounded as if they still needed two weeks of intensive work. Half reading, half speaking from memory, lines were mixed up or entirely lost. Folk-songs were used to give the scenes a smoothness the acting failed to achieve.

Thankfully, two members of the cast performed well enough to save some of the production's impact and transmit it to the audience. Director-actor Robert Page electrified the room with his booming portrayals of Nat Turner and Father Divine. The cast followed his lead - when he was good, they were good. Peggy Cooper gave moving performances portraying various American Negro women. She and Page were the two most vital elements in creating and sustaining the emotional effect on the viewer, the play's primary objective.

Anger at the ironies of the past centuries, when correlated with those of the "Emancipation," succeeded in justifying the feeling of desperation marking the present racial situation. With some work, this should be re-run in early April as a possible impetus for GW students to gain real convictions for the upcoming march.

Finally, a word concerning the facilities. The Experimental Theater productions are in the Agora -- certainly a comfortable and relaxed (for the audience) area in which to work. The

practice will also hopefully expand the Agora's popularity and business. The Agora staff should keep this in mind the next time they decide to stack dishes, hold discussions, and ring up sales on the cash register during a performance. If the lack of interest on the part of the staff continues, there is no reason why the Experimental Theater should not return to Studio A and take the audience, and the Agora's customers, with them.

'Cuckolds' Cast Announced

THREE FACULTY members will perform in the spring production of the speech and drama department and the University players in "The Three Cuckolds."

The faculty members include David A. Gustafson playing Leonardo, lover of Cintia, and also the director; Robert Honeygosky as Zanni, husband of Franceschina; and David M. Kieserman as Pantalone, lover of Franceschina as well as technical director for the production.

This departure in casting was made by director Gustafson for three reasons. The faculty actors, all having acted professionally, will bring up the quality of the play to a higher level than might have otherwise been achieved according to Gustafson, as well as teaching the student actors some of the finer points of acting and giving them a chance to work with professionals -- an opportunity missing in previous productions. "The Three Cuckolds" is an Italian "commedia dell'arte," a street farce, and involves broad slapstick and improvisation. This

approach, emphasizing bawdiness and movement, will benefit from having professionals in the cast, Gustafson said.

The third reason for the presence of the faculty members is that director Gustafson was not informed of student irritation over the choice of the play until the second day of auditions. At this time it was too late to make a change, Gustafson commented, and he had to work with whatever actors he had.

Commenting on adverse criticism over choice of "Cuckolds," Gustafson mentioned that last spring following his direction of "The Bacchae" he placed notices asking for open discussion relating to the choice of this spring's play. Only one student approached him, he said, and Gustafson made the decision himself. Since the production is sponsored by the department of speech and drama the director has dictatorial powers over the choice of the play as well as being in a position to choose a play that may be unfamiliar to many but which will make an

interesting production.

The other members of the cast include Isa Natovitz, assistant director, Margie Bank as Cintia, and Harvey Abrams, a sophomore in his first major production, in the leading role of Harlequin. Elizabeth Duquett plays Flaminia, Gail Baldi has been cast as Franceschina, wife of Zanni and lover of Pantalone, Alan Kushner as the Devil, and David Paglin as Coviello. Mrs. Gina Whitland, a professional designer, will be in charge of costumes.

"The Three Cuckolds" utilizes a great deal of improvisation and pantomime -- to ease the direction Gustafson has been using the video-tape equipment for the first time in a school production. The results have been amazing, according to Gustafson, one student doubled his quality of acting after having seen himself on tape he said.

The comedy will be performed in Lisner Auditorium March 15 and 16. Admission is free to GW students and tickets will be available in the Student Union ticket office.

'Elvira Madigan'

Technically Lovely, Flat

by P. Spencer Wachtel
Cultural Affairs Editor

"ELVIRA MADIGAN" is the type of film that is easily placed on a great pedestal and blindly idolized. All some people need to hear is that a color movie has been made about two ill-fated lovers--in this case a deserting cavalry officer and a runaway tightrope walker (from her father's circus)--and their ripe little hearts will gush forth platitudes of greatness--all because a film couple tells us that they are hopelessly, irretrievably, in love.

This has happened many times, "A Man and a Woman" comes to mind, but it would be unfair to "Elvira Madigan" to cleverly write it off as a syrupy soap-opera. The film is too technically lovely, a little too engaging in spots to dismiss it so quickly. "Elvira Madigan" must stand as a good example of what half a great film would contain. The film has beauty, simplicity, brevity and color. All it lacks are characterization, dialogue, and some degree of purpose and reality. It is an impressionistic movie--one which presents shadows and implications and expects us to be happy imagining the whole. Unfortunately the shadows are too simplistic in nature

and we cannot grasp an overall concept.

Bo Widerberg's film is notable in several respects. He utilizes long periods of silence and lets his camera and the gorgeous Scandinavian countryside do the rest. "Elvira Madigan," at the Fine Arts, could easily have won admirers as a film without words. This feeling is accentuated by trite and sometimes ridiculous dialogue (perhaps the translation into subtitles is at fault.) But Widerberg does use his silences well. While nobody is saying anything the color camera, with numerous subtleties of distortion, envelopes the most beautiful and pastoral settings that perhaps have ever been shown. Widerberg catches varying light conditions--dark woods in late afternoon, the seashore at dawn, with uncanny accuracy in a manner similar to Monet's use of light conditions in his painting of haystacks.

The use of Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 21 is certainly pleasant enough. The use of classical music is a wonderful idea that has made many strong films become even more beautiful--recall the use of the Bach air in G for "Rapture."

Tommy Berggren as Sixten, and Pia Degermark, as Elvira, are about as deep film personalities as two names in a paper.

They say that they are in love, but we only share it in such times as when they are in the woods eating fresh raspberries and heavy cream with their hand, or when they kiss while he is only half way through shaving and both faces become at one with his lather.

But I've been told that love is caring for someone as a person--we do not see Sixten and Elvira as people but as photographs, annoyingly mono-dimensional in appearance. They lack motivation, we have no understanding as to why Sixten left his wife and two children, or of Elvira's past.

She is perhaps more perceptive concerning the truth of their relationship than he--in a scene on a beach she remarks that perhaps her revealing her knees at a dance is not the real cause of their argument--that their real problem is something much more substantial. Well our real problem in watching "Elvira Madigan" is that we don't see the couple as people but as characters in the most beautiful feature-length Monet ever filmed.

"THOMAS A'BECKETT" (36"x48")--A painting by Leo Manzo. An exhibit of his works will open Thursday, March 7 in the Dimock Gallery, off lower Lisner. The gallery is open weekdays 1:00 to 5:00 p.m.

Cultural Calendar

Players Meeting

THE UNIVERSITY Players will discuss a new policy of having students choose the University's fall and spring productions at their meeting tonight at 8 p.m. in lower Lisner. The Players will choose new officers at this time as well as formulate plans for the semester. All students are invited to join and attend the meeting.

GW Orchestra

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY Orchestra, conducted by George Steiner, presents its next concert on Thursday, February 29, 1968 at 8:30 in Lisner Auditorium. The concert is open to the public free of charge.

The complete program is as follows: Brahms--Academic Festival Overture. Beethoven--

Symphony No. 8. Bartok--Two Portraits, op. 5, Chabrier--Spanish Rhapsody.

Potomac Discussion

A CRITICAL DISCUSSION of the winter edition of THE POTOMAC, the University literary and art magazine, will be held this Thursday at 4 p.m. in the lounge of Strong Hall. The public is invited. Mr. Louis Schaefer of the English Department will moderate the discussion. Other faculty members are expected to attend.

Pete Seeger

PETE SEEGER will appear at Lisner Auditorium on Sunday, March 3 at 3 p.m. Tickets may be obtained at the Talbert Ticket Agency in the Willard Hotel, Learmont Records in Georgetown or the Alexandria Folklore Centre, 205 North Royal Street, Alexandria, Va.

Agora Schedule

Thurs., Feb. 29 -- open auditions.
Fri., March 1 -- Steve Brooke.
Sat., March 2 -- Foggy Bottom Blues Band.
Wed., March 6 -- S. Niederman -- poetry reading.
Thurs., March 7 -- open auditions.
Fri., March 8 -- JBJ Trio.
Sat., March 9 -- Dave Essig -- Blues Guitar.
Sun., March 10 -- Professor Kenny speaks.

Art Exhibit at Hillel

A JEWISH ART and Photography Exhibit will be displayed at Hillel House on Sunday, March 3 at 11 a.m.

Film Festival

THE GW Film Festival, sponsored by the University Players, is held every Friday at 3 p.m. in Studio A. Admission is free and coffee is served.

March 1 "Bedtime Story" by Sean O'Casey -- Seattle Repertory Theater.

Whimsical 'Trains'

by Dave Bryant

RECENTLY, Americans have been exposed to several pictures dealing with unusual views of sex.

In the English "The Penthouse," lots of sadism with no point was dished out; in the American "Reflections In A Golden Eye," homosexuality and virtually every other sin imaginable were examined; and in the Canadian "The Fox," we all have a chance to get hot and bothered over Sandy Dennis in a Lesbian kissing scene. Leave it to the Czechs, then, to produce "Closely Watched Trains," a tender, whimsical story set in World War II about a boy's first experience with sex.

The boy, Milos Hrma, is amusing on sight--a pear-shaped face with a tiny chin, large, watery eyes, ears that stick out, and hair that looks as if it were cut with a bowl.

However, life is not as easy as he anticipated. Oh, the work at the depot is not difficult--it is sex that bothers him. Hubicka the dispatcher, an aging Lohario, keeps badgering Milos about his girl Masa; how good is she in bed? Finally, in a comic scene for which director Jiri Menzel deserves the credit, Milos confesses he doesn't know. As a train roars past, drowning out all conversation, Hubicka bends over Milos, whispering in his ear; Milos shrugs his shoulders. Hubicka steps back in astonishment and Milos again shrugs his shoulders. Hubicka walks away, shaking his head.

When Milos tries to make love to Masa, however, he fails miserably. This scene is somewhat spoiled because Menzel has Milos wear his conductor's cap to bed. Until now, "Closely Watched Trains" has had the ring of reality and its humor has followed naturally from its events. The addition of the cap, however, is a too obvious and ri-

diculous attempt for a laugh. Having failed with Masa, Milos tries to kill himself but loses even here, awakening in a hospital room. Learning of his problem, the doctor (played by director Menzel) advises him to think of something else during the sex act, like a soccer match, and Milos returns to the depot.

The funniest part of the entire movie ensues: poor Milos, desperate for another chance, explains his problem--"premature ejaculation"--to anyone who will listen and even goes so far as to ask the horrified conductor for his middle-aged wife--"for advice, I mean." Finally he gets his chance with a beautiful spy called Viktoria. As she undresses before him, she asks "What are you thinking about?" "A soccer match," he replies.

In contrast to the movie's light-hearted tone, the ending is extremely tragic. Perhaps the ending shows the impact war finally does have on common people's lives, despite the fact that the people in "Closely Watched Trains" exist in an apparent vacuum, separated from the fighting, during most of the film.

Visually, the film is beautiful with shots of the pastoral, rolling Czechoslovakian landscape. A particularly interesting effect is achieved with a close-up of a train's smoke stream, dotted with what at first appears to be sparks. It is only when the camera fades back that one discovers the "sparks" are snowflakes.

Altogether, "Closely Watched Trains" is an excellent film because, though it hardly deals with an unusual subject, it treats Milos with compassion and tender, warm humor. Seldom does Menzel trespass into the area of the ridiculous or unnatural to get a laugh, and so Milos becomes a real human being to us, not just another young boy with a problem.

"Closely watched Trains" is playing at the Janus 1 and 2.

March Theater Schedule

Theaters offering student discounts are marked with*. Prices and scheduling details can be obtained by calling the individual theater.

GW SPRING PRODUCTION--Lisner Auditorium, Free to students.

"The Three Cuckolds," March 14, 15, 16.

GW EXPERIMENTAL THEATER--Studio A and the Agora.

"No Exit," directed by L. Klar, March 6-9.

"Hole," directed by C. Arnold, March 22, 24, 29, 31.

ARENA STAGE*--6th and M Sts. SW, 638-6700.

"The Tenth Man" by Paddy Chayefsky, March 2, 3, 5, 6,

7, 8, 12, 16, 17, 28.

"Room Service" by John Murray and Allen Boretz, March

1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 29.

"The Iceman Cometh" by Eugene O'Neill, March 21, 22, 23,

24, 26, 27, 30, 31.

WASHINGTON THEATER CLUB*--1632 O St. NW, 265-4700.

"Caligula" by Albert Camus, Through March 24.

"Five Evenings" by Aleksandr Volodin, Opens March 26.

GARRICK PLAYERS*--1041 Wisconsin Ave. NW, 965-0393.

"The Underpants" by Carl Soudheimer.

N.R.T. AT FORD'S THEATER*--514 Tenth St. NW, 347-7242.

"John Brown's Body" by Stephen Vincent Benet.

"The Comedy of Errors" by W. Shakespeare.

"She Stoops to Conquer" by Oliver Goldsmith.

NATIONAL THEATER--NA 8-3393.

"The Homecoming" by Harold Pinter, March 4-17.

"Cabaret" Opens March 18.

WASHINGTON COLISEUM--223-4550.

"Ringling Brothers, Barnum and Bailey Circus" March

14-31.

LITTLE THEATER OF ALEXANDRIA*--600 Wolfe St. Alex-

andria, 683-0496.

"The House of Bernarda Alba" by Federica Garcia Lorca,

March 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16.

SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON*--2170 Florida

Ave. NW, 836-4014.

"Doctor Faustus" by Christopher Marlowe, March 2, 3, 9,

10, 16, 17, 23, 24.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND--"Barber of Seville" begins

March 14.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY--3620 P St. NW, 333-1789.

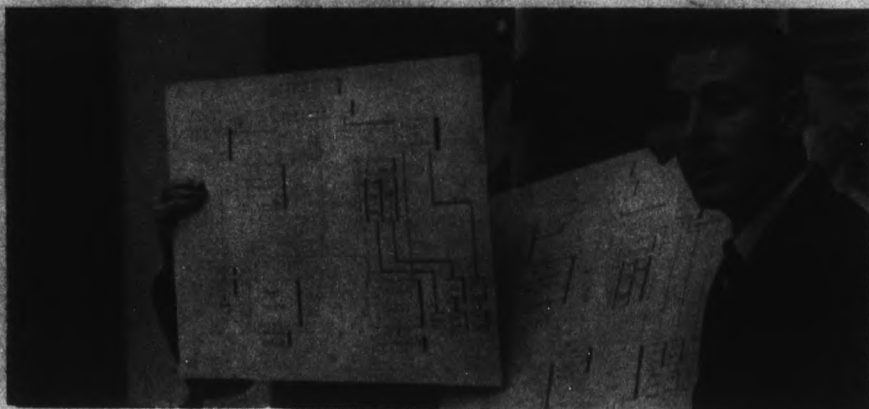
"Three-in-One" begins March 15.

AMERICA UNIVERSITY--Clendenon Theater, 244-6333.

"As You Like It" by W. Shakespeare, Begins March 21.

Council, from p. 1

May Proposes Student Supreme Court



USING DIAGRAMS to explain his points, Alan May discusses the reorganization of Student Life. President Knicely hides behind chart on the left.

cil, the Inter Fraternity Council, the Panhellenic Council, and the dormitories. According to May, it would "fill a void between the student and the dean."

"Without a court, a student would go straight to the administration and we think he should be judged by his peers," May said.

A third resolution introduced by McElroy, requesting administration policy on the availability of students' records to outside sources, particularly the federal government, was passed.

McElroy said he had previously questioned officials on the matter but was "given a very nice run-around."

"Bounce for Beats," a Heart Association fund-raising project was given unanimous endorse-

ment and a \$96.80 contribution by the Council. The event, to be held March 8, will feature about 80 professors bouncing a basketball for 24 hours, symbolizing the beating of the heart.

Art Eisenman, Maryland commuter representative, announced that DC Transit and the WM&A bus company are sending 100 schedules to GW. Schedule stands, he said, will be set up in the Student Union shortly.

In other business, Nell Portnow, cultural affairs director, said that the Lettermen are temporarily booked for the Spring Concert, to be held on May 2 at Lisner Auditorium. However, he explained, Lisner is being used the same night by the music department, and the concert's date, place, and talent might have to be changed.

Two month provisional recognition was given to the Black Students' Union, GW Students for Nixon, and the Foggy Bottom Union, an organization hopeful of presenting distinguished speakers from various fields of interest.

President Jim Knicely announced that a calendar reform has been proposed by the Faculty Senate Educational Policy Committee. The change would provide for a three week "research reading-exam period" at the end of each semester.

APO Rush

ALPHA PHI OMEGA, National Service Fraternity, will hold rush meetings this Tuesday, and Wednesday evenings from 8:30-9:30 p.m. in Strong Hall Lounge. A special commuter rush will be held in Strong Lounge on Wednesday, 11:30 a.m.- to 12:30 p.m.

At present APO is the only men's service organization on campus, and they sponsor such projects as Book Exchange, printing the blotters found on every dormitory desk, and presenting the Distinguished Speakers Series. In addition, APO performs services for the children of Grant and Stevens schools.

All interested men are urged to attend any of the rush meetings.

Graves Award

THE ANNUAL STUART Graves Memorial Lecture will feature Surgeon George Crile, Jr., M.D. of the Cleveland Clinic speaking on "The Management of the Single Nodule in the Thyroid." Sponsored by Nu Sigma Nu medical fraternity, it will be held on Feb. 29, at 5 p.m.

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'Inner-City Ecumenism'

Edwards States Programs

by Marian Yeager

"BUILD UP the church as a public gathering place, thus bringing in a cross-section of the metropolitan area, or turn the church over to a black minister or someone groomed for the job, and let it become a black church." These are the choices open to the clergy in the question of serving a Negro community, according to Reverend Tilden Edwards of the Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center.

He asks if such a program shall be a "cultic sideshow, or a cohesive, dramatic, powerful event? It must be a happening, more than a tight and suppressed movement."

Speaking on "Inner-City Ecumenism" at the Interfaith Forum last Wednesday, Rev. Edwards described the Training Center, where he is a full-time staff member, as reflecting what is needed -- a basic approach to the vast number of social problems which face us.

At the recent conference of trainers, Negro representatives gave their views on the white role in dealing with social justice. They called for, said Rev. Edwards, a "neutralization of white power... The clergy should act as a buffer in the kind of over-reaction which could create a police state."

Furthermore, they stated that whites should "stay in their own communities and take care of their own sickness." They ask that whites "do not move until asked; to work on the condition is to work on the symptom, not the problem."

Rev. Edwards explained that the trainers working with the problems achieve "an inclusive

picture and approach." Personal growth, known as "sensitivity training", is dealt with to remove "hang-ups that keep a polite and artificial group."

What Rev. Edwards called "knowledge and information inputs" involves specialists on subjects "from liturgy to poverty" who come to talk to the whole

group "to grapple with the basic issues in the metropolitan area."

Planning skill development Rev. Edwards emphasized as important in order to work with other people and effectively approach problems. The theories arrived at are tested for several months, then analyzed, he explained.

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W. THOMAS PACKARD looks at an exhibit during Engineering Week.

Church Offers
'A Quiet Place'

THE CONCORDIA United Church of Christ on 20th and G. St. will open its basement recreation facilities to the University community today, according to Roger Hoffman, head of the joint student-church group.

The program, to be run by students week days from 10-5 p.m. will provide a quiet place on campus for students to have a cup of coffee, to study, to talk, and to meet.

Decorating the hall each week will be various art displays of contemporary themes. Today there will be a display of protest posters and in the subsequent weeks art work of the Black Power Movement.

Bissell Better

DR. PAUL V. BISSELL, dean of the College of General Studies and former Dean of Men, was released following surgery from the De Witt Army Hospital at Fort Belvoir, Va., Friday. According to Assistant Dean James Smith, he is "up and around and seems to be coming along well."

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SPORTS

Buff Comeback Trip Hoyas West Virginia Defeats Buff in Season Finale

by LARRY GARFINKEL

GW OVERCAME a 13-point deficit in the second half to down Georgetown, 65-61, on George Washington's birthday at Fort Myer.

Mickey Sullivan, playing his final home game, Francis Mooney, and Garland Pinkston led the Colonial attack which was missing Roger Strong, who had suffered a torn ligament in his ankle in the first half and did not return to action.

Down 41-30 at halftime, the Colonials rallied behind Sullivan who hit his first four shots of the second half. Georgetown had scored only eight points over the first 13:16 of the second half when a Sullivan jump shot gave the Buff a 50-49 lead.

Charlie Adrion, who led the Hoyas with 25 points, put the Hoyas back on top with a lay-up, and, after Pinkston's shot gave GW the lead, connected on a four point play.

Adrion scored on a drive, was fouled by Sullivan, missed the shot, but got the rebound and scored to give Georgetown a 55-52 lead with 5:29 left.

Jump shots by Steve Loveless and Mooney regained the lead for the Colonials, but Mike Higgins' field goal returned the lead to Georgetown.

The see-saw continued as Mooney sank a free throw to tie the game, Adrion scored, and Pinkston sank a foul shot.

With Georgetown leading 59-55, Sullivan hit a jump shot to put the Buff in front to stay with 2:20 remaining. Bob Dennis rebounded a missed Hoya shot and Pinkston's jumper gave the Colonials a 62-59 lead with 1:35 remaining.

After an Adrion jump shot cut the lead to one, Dennis sank a foul shot for a 63-61 lead with 59 seconds remaining.

When the Hoyas failed to score, GW continued its effective freeze until Jim Supple fouled Mooney with 15 seconds left. Mooney missed on the one and one situation but Sullivan got the rebound, tipped it to Mooney, and the Colonials resumed their freeze.

With two seconds remaining, Loveless was fouled by Mike Laska. GW moved its four other players to the Georgetown side of the court to protect against a tying basket while Georgetown kept two men under the GW basket for the rebound, sending three men to the offensive court. Loveless' free throw was short but he got his own rebound and was fouled in the act of shooting as time ran out. With the game over, he sank both shots in giving the Colonials their 65-61 come from behind victory.

With Strong out and Mooney carrying three fouls from early in the first half, the Colonials seemed doomed in their quest to remain unbeaten in competition on George Washington's birthday. However, the Buff committed only two fouls the second half, both by Sullivan, and Georgetown failed to sink either of them.

The Hoyas hit on only ten of 31 shots in the second half for 32.3 per cent while GW was hitting 14 of 33 for 42.5 per cent. In the first half, the Hoyas hit



FRANCIS MOONEY scores against Georgetown. Other Colonials in the picture are Mickey Sullivan and Garland Pinkston.

over 45 per cent of their shots while GW was hitting just over 36 per cent.

The Colonials and Hoyas played run and shoot ball for the first ten minutes of the game. With 10:05 left in the first half, Strong tipped in a shot to tie the game at 26. This was GW's last score until Dennis hit a jumper with 1:23 left.

With 6:41 left Strong, who had hit five of six from the field, fell on a rebound attempt and did not return. Mooney reentered the game and did not commit another foul the rest of the game.

For GW, Pinkston had 16 points and 12 rebounds, Dennis 14 points and eight rebounds, Sullivan 12 points and six rebounds, and Strong 11 points. Mooney, who received the game ball, hauled down 16 rebounds, while all of Sullivan's points came in the second half.

Besides Adrion's 25, Supple and Laska added ten each for the Hoyas. Denny Caesar, the leading Hoya scorer, was held to six points and spent most of the second half on the bench.

Freshmen Top Georgetown

The GW Freshmen closed out their home season with a come from behind victory over the Hoya Frosh, 91-81.

Leading throughout the first half, GW went cold and the Hoyas caught and passed the Colonials

for a 42-40 lead. GW switched from a man for man defense to a 2-1-2 zone but the Hoyas maintained their lead until the final six minutes of play when GW pulled away for good.

Mike Tallent and Ralph Barnett paced the Baby Buff with 22 points apiece, while Walt Szczerbak added 16, Harold Rhyne 15, and Hank Bunnell 13.

Don Weber led the Hoyas with 23, while Ed McNamara added 21, Bob Hanan 14, and Marc Sussman 11.

Girls' Volleyball Team to Hold Challenge Night This Evening

by COOKIE SNOW

WOMEN'S RECREATION ASSOCIATION has initiated a full schedule of events of the second half of the year, with the intent of involving as many students as possible.

All resident and commuter women are invited to participate in a volleyball challenge night tonight at 7:30 p.m. in Bldg. K. The third floor of Thurston Hall is the defending champion. Players not playing with a set team will be placed on a team. Refreshments will be served after the games, and the winners will receive free dinner at a Washington restaurant.

The women's volleyball team will shortly begin its schedule.

by STU SIRKIN

RON WILLIAMS scored 27 points in the second half to lead West Virginia to a 90-72 victory over the Colonials at Morgantown last Saturday afternoon.

The Mountaineers had a huge height advantage in the televised game. The Buff were playing without Roger Strong, their leading scorer and rebounder.

Without Strong, the Mountaineers dominated the defensive boards and controlled the offensive boards most of the game. Only when Francis Mooney fought under the boards did the Colonials hold their own; and this only happened in brief spurts.

West Virginia played a man-to-man defense which is usually an advantage for the Colonials.

Frosh Cagmen Down Maryland For 17-2 Slate

THE COLONIAL FRESHMEN closed out their season Saturday with a 96-92 victory over the Maryland Frosh.

GW led throughout the game but had to hold off a fast closing Terp rush. The victory gave the Buff a 17-2 record for the season; the two losses coming at the hands of Richmond.

Ralph Barnett led the Colonials with 25 points, followed by Walt Szczerbak with 22 and Mike Tallent with 21.

Grapplers Oppose Howard In Opening Match of Year

HOWARD WAS GW's first wrestling opponent of the season last night at Howard. This is the club's first year of existence, being formed by Dave Greenberg. The club has been practicing daily for the last three weeks.

Bob Grant wrestled at 123 pounds against the Bisons; Ron Mollatto was at 130; Greenberg at 137, and Tom Clark fought at 145. Alan Opreco fought at 152 pounds, with Jack Pitzer at 157 and Buck Rodey at 167. Also John Fletcher competed at 177, Paul Hagan at 191, and Eric Kelner as the heavyweight.

However, the Buff played sloppy ball, throwing passes into Mountaineer hands and were bothered by the press.

West Virginia's shooting was cold the first half, but it put in the key baskets when it was necessary. When Dave Reaser and Williams did not hit from the outside, Carey Bailey would tap the ball through the hoop.

GW's offense was playing for the inside shot, but the Mountaineer defense frequently stuffed the shorter Colonial shooters. The half ended with the score 41-34 in favor of the home team.

GW stayed close the first few minutes of the second half as West Virginia's shooting continued to be cold. But once Williams got hot, the Mountaineer guard pretty much controlled the game himself the remainder of the way.

When Steve Loveless fouled out with fourteen minutes to go, the season was over for the Buff. GW began playing sloppy ball and West Virginia continuously widened the margin. Coach Wayne Dobbs cleared the bench at the end of the game giving everybody a chance to play in the season finale. Seniors Mickey Sullivan, Mike Judy, and Jeff Delong played their final game as Colonials.

Ron Williams playing his final game in Mountaineer Fieldhouse led all scorers with 34 points. Garland Pinkston's 17 topped GW.

In exhibition matches Peter Nemer, Greg Ricca, and Fred Henay wrestled.

The grapplers are also planning matches with American, Catholic, Gallaudet, and Montgomery Junior College in the near future. Home matches for GW will be played in the mens gym. Practices are in the wrestling room in the basement of Corcoran, and anyone wanting to wrestle is still welcome.

Coach Greenberg is optimistic about the start of wrestling and has high hopes of making it a varsity sport within a couple of years.

On March 2, there is a Sports Day at Hood College; on March 13, at 7 p.m. Georgetown and American will visit GW; and on March 19 at 7:30 p.m. Immaculata, Gallaudet, and Dunbarton will visit the Colonials. The last match will be against Maryland on April 2.

The women's lacrosse club will have an organizational meeting on Tuesday, March 12 at 2:30 in the women's gym.

The rifle team will be shooting at the U. S. Naval Academy on March 16. The team still has room for more members. Anyone interested should go to the basement of Corcoran Hall any Monday from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. or on Tuesday and Thursday from 1 to 5 p.m.

On Thurs. March 7, at 7 p.m. in Lisner, Mrs. Liselott Diem will give a demonstration, and speak on movement activities for children in grades 1-4.

Starting on March 15, the WRA will open its bicycle rental service to all students. The bikes will be available for \$2.50 a day, or \$1.50 for half a day, and can be rented on weekends from 9-10 a.m. and from 1-2 p.m.

On March 9, at 2:30 p.m. the WRA will view a matinee production of Room Service at the Arena Stage. Tickets will go on sale today in Bldg. K at a discount price of \$1.75 per ticket. The WRA has reserved a section of box seats for the production.

That Was the Year That Was

Stu Sirkin

ALTHOUGH THE Colonials finished 5-19, the second half of the season was fairly successful. The Buff were 4-5 in their last nine games, a vast improvement over their earlier 1-14. In fact they won four out of their last five home games, losing only to Davidson.

This was the fifth year in a row that GW won on its name-sake's birthday. Last year, Ed Rainey got into a fight with the Hoya's star Steve Sullivan and both were asked to leave the court; the Buff went on to win. For the second straight year, Mickey Sullivan was the Colonial who killed Georgetown. After three years, one would expect that the Hoyas would learn that Sullivan can hit consistently if given time and room; but that is exactly what the Hoyas gave him once again.

Coach Jack Magee of Georgetown claims there is no great rivalry between his school and GW. If there is not, it is the Hoyas fault. Over 1000 Colonials rooters went up to McDonough gym for the first game, and Buff fans packed the home bleachers of Ft. Myer for the second.

Nunn Signs With Colonials Guard Averaged 26 Points

RONNIE NUNN became the first member of next year's freshmen basketball squad when he signed a Letter of Intent to come to GW. Nunn is a six foot three guard from New York City. Nunn averaged 26 points a game for Brooklyn Tech High School and had 71 major college offers, and over 100 offers altogether. He will be a physical education major.

Nunn played in the tough Public School Athletic League in New York City. Coach Jack Magee of Georgetown calls Nunn "another Dave Bing."

Coach Wayne Dobbs says that "Nunn can do it all and has the makings of a super star." Dobbs also compared him with Bing, the Detroit all-pro.

However, only a couple hundred Hoya fans showed up at Ft. Myer.

The Freshmen Team finished 17-2, losing only to Richmond twice. Mike Tallent led the squad with an average of about 30 points a game. Ralph Barnett played outstanding ball the second half of the season. Also outstanding were Harold Rhine, Walt Szczerbiak, John Conrad, and Hank Bunnell. Bob Tallent was unofficial coach of the freshmen and should be credited with an excellent coaching job.

GW Quintets-Tall Stories

DADDY WAGS have already clinched the Sunday B title after edging Delta Tau Delta 42-41. McKinley and Wagner each scored 16 for the winners. The Deltas are now tied with Calhoun, each with one loss.

Saturday B ended in a three way tie between Sigma Alpha Epsilon, the Jokers, and Health Care Administration. SAE hung on to its share of the lead by downing Alpha Epsilon Pi, 36-32, behind Thompson's 21 points the Jokers edged Calhoun, 45-42.

SAE, the Lettermen and Delta

WRGW and Booster Board both should be complimented on a job well done. Dave Miller and Tim Ashwell of the radio station broadcasted all home games and many of the away games, both varsity and freshmen. Booster Board kept its promise and provided free buses for all home games. This is a good start in making GW fans aware of Colonial basketball.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, a former Wildcat center, viewed the Davidson-GW game at Ft. Myer.

Theta Phi all are still in contention for the Sunday A title. Larry Usiskin led the Lettermen over DTD with 24 points, 68-57. DTPHI topped Phi Sigma Delta, 50-38, despite Jeff Sunshine's 16 points. Ray Hunter had 12 for the winners. Albert scored 22 but the Soul Survivors still edged Sigma Chi, 55-51.

In earlier Saturday B games, HCA topped Sigma Alpha Mu, 51-30, DTD beat AEPI, 48-24, and Mitchell downed SX, 42-33. The Jokers handed SAE their first loss, 37-27, Phi Sigma Kappa swamped PSD, 33-16, and Calhoun topped Kappa Sigma, 50-32. Last Saturday, Sigma Phi Epsilon downed Sigma Nu, Downtown Drunks edged TEP, 9-6, PSD just got by SX, 26-25, and DTD knocked PSK out of a first place tie, 31-26.

In Sunday B, PSD topped PSK, 39-27, Mark VIII won on an AEPI forfeit, TEP edged Theta Tau, 46-44, and the Avengers downed SAE, 48-41. Also Calhoun won when SN forfeited and Med III topped SPE.

Learn-In

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY Free University group will sponsor a learn-in from 1 p.m. to 10 p.m. tomorrow which will cover a number of topics, a different one each hour.

The learn-in will take place at the Kay Spiritual Life Center. Further information can be obtained from Raymond Avrutis, 966-9500 or 9510, rm. 405.



RONNIE NUNN

Rugby Club Opens Season Against Maryland On Sat.

THE GW RUGBY CLUB hosts Maryland this Saturday at Haine's Point in the opening test of the spring season. The team has been practicing for a month and is highly optimistic about the coming season.

The team is made up of a long conglomeration of American and European players, experienced and novice. The resultant mixture of football influence and precise rugby techniques has combined to create a formidable squad. Several ex-GW gridmen are on the team; they include Jim Isom, John Fletcher, Bob Schmidt, and Tom Metz.

The three-quarter line, or what corresponds to the backfield in football, has an average speed of close to ten seconds for the hundred yard dash.

Crew...

A SHORTAGE of freshmen has jeopardized the chances of the GW crew fielding three shells this year.

Only three freshmen are practicing with the crew which now has a full time freshmen coach. In hopes of attracting more freshmen, a meeting has been scheduled for tomorrow at 8 p.m. in Monroe 101 for all freshmen, whether experienced or not, who are interested in rowing.

Game time against Maryland is 2:30 p.m. The complete schedule is as follows:

Date	A opponent	Date	B opponent
March 2	Maryland (H) insert	March 2	Maryland (H)
9	Wheeling College (H)	17	George Mason (A)
17	George Mason (A)	23	Georgetown (A)
23	Georgetown (A)		
30	Norfolk (H)		
April 6	Cherry Blossom Festival	April 6	Maryland (A)
13	Washington (A)	13	Washington (A)
21	Columbia (H)	21	George Mason (H)
28	N.C. State (H)		
May 4	Yale (A)	May 12	Maryland (A)
5	to be arranged		
12	Maryland (A)		
18	Richmond (to be confirmed)		

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Ginsberg To Speak

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- Contemporary American poet Allen Ginsberg will appear at 8:30 p.m., Thursday, Feb. 29, at Georgetown University's Gaston Hall.

The controversial poet, a war critic and civil rights advocate, is campaigning for legalization of marijuana. On a speaking tour of major Eastern colleges and universities, he recently appeared at Vassar College, New York University and American University.

Ginsberg, who has written three

volumes of poetry, will read his essays and poetry before the Georgetown audience. His appearance will be sponsored by the Yard Cultural Committee, a student organization. Tickets at 75 cents per person will be sold at the door.

Blues Band

The Foggy Bottom Blues Band will perform at the Agora on Saturday night. Two sets are scheduled, at 9 and 10:30 p.m.

Doctoral Candidates

A DOCTORAL ASSOCIATION for the purposes of discussion, research, and publication has been formed by the doctoral students in the School of Government and Business Administration.

According to its adviser, Dr. Daniel Roman, chairman of the Doctoral Committee, the organization is open to all doctoral students in the School of Government and Business Administration.

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CLAUDIA BOOKER, a sophomore majoring in Sociology, models her swing.

HATCHET ENCOUNTERED



The Middle East Balance of Power

Inside

Sir John Glubb
Howard Sachar
Bernard Reich
I.L. Kenen

Christian Pineau
Abdul Said
John Ruddy
Edward Gnehm

DAVE
MINARD

Israeli National Fulfillment

'The Spreading Cancer of Irredentism'

by John Ruedy

OVER THE PAST MONTHS I have been asked more times than I can count if there is not some hope for solution to the endemic Arab-Israeli conflict over Palestine. By "solution" most people seem to mean a series of compromises or accommodations mutually acceptable to both sides in the dispute. The bases

Dr. John Ruedy is a professor of Islamic History at Georgetown University. He received his academic training at the University of California at Berkeley and Los Angeles and at the College de France in Paris. Dr. Ruedy is the author of "Land Policy in Colonial Algeria."

of this accommodation have eluded some of the best minds of our times. How does one begin to speak of mutually acceptable settlement in a situation where one side insists that every square centimeter of territory held by the other belongs to it while the second will not surrender one square centimeter, much less terminate voluntarily its national existence?

Our cartesian heritage suggests that the resolution of problems is best approached by reducing them to their constituent elements. In the case of the Palestinian problem the constituent elements are at least three: human, territorial, and political. With an army of other hopefuls I have during the past years explored several times over the stuff of each of these elements--always looking for the gleam of light. Space is not available here to summarize even the most important facets of the problems presented in these areas. Volumes have been written. At the human level the refugees are the essential by-product of the national aspiration of Zionism. The truly Jewish state of the Zionist dream could not and cannot exist without the permanent exclusion of the Arab majority who dwell in the land on which Israel was created. But who among us, least of all an Arab statesman, can in conscience tell the Palestinian it is just that he renounce forever the land he and his fathers called home for 13 uninterrupted centuries?

Territorially, the Israeli has never considered any of his military conquests as taking place on essentially "foreign" territory. Thus he has always insisted that territorial settlement begin with one or another of the cease-fire lines. The Arab, since 1949, has insisted that only the U.N. Partition Line of 1947 can serve as the basis of negotiations.

Politically, the search for solutions has often led to the door of the so-called Arab moderates. Yet, as the Abdullah story and others should have convinced us by now, the dynamics of the Arab drive toward nationhood and the exigencies of the Arab revolution denude the efforts of moderates of all validity. Similarly within Israel, the dynamics of Israeli

national fulfillment, coupled with engulfing Arab hostility on the cease-fire lines effectively muffle the moderates, the humanitarians and the conscience-stricken who inhabit that state. The Israeli Foreign Office has spent the better part of 20 years sugar-coating for world consumption the hard line of the Defense Ministry.

As of 1968, I am convinced, no mutually acceptable solution exists. I cannot see one in the immediate future. I am convinced there never has been one since 1922 when the Council of the League of Nations chose to make the Zionist program an integral part of the Palestine Mandate. I am led to ask if it is not well past time that we learn from our historic failures and stop search-

coincidence. The internal history of pre-1947 Zionism is replete with the conflict between those who insisted on the essential indivisibility of Eretz Israel and the practicals who would settle for a piece at a time. Since 1948, it has been good international public relations not to speak so loudly of indivisibility or expansionism, but Israeli actions are testimony to the persistence of the aspiration nevertheless. The conquered lands of 1947 and 1948 were immediately treated as integral parts of the new sovereign state. During the very years when the Conciliation Commission collectively and the United States and Britain separately were urgently trying to force Israel back inside the only legal boundaries it could

entirely the result of the application of force. The fact that Arab hostility provides a convenient pretext for the achievement of Israeli territorial goals is beside the basic point that violence was the only appropriate tool for the achievement and maintenance of the Zionist program.

I am not convinced that we in the rest of the world can permit this anarchy to persist forever. One day Arab annihilationism and Israeli expansionism may do far more than perpetuate and multiply the sufferings of the people of Palestine; they may well provide the spark of the ultimate holocaust. I would argue that since the implantation of Israel in Palestine could only be achieved by force and since that nation

inherit this earth and for the sake of Middle Eastern and world peace, I propose a return to world commitments. While a re-drawing of the grotesque frontiers of the original partition would no longer be rational, an imposed repartition may well provide the only ultimate solution. It seems to me that a re-partition returning to the Arab population a land comparable in area and value to that promised it is 1947--with access to both the Jordan and the Mediterranean--is both equitable and achievable--the only conceivable cure for the spreading cancer of irredentism. This plan, of course, would imply the resettlement of a good many Israelis. Unfortunate as this may seem, only such a concession seems to hold out any possibility of breaking the vicious circle of hostilities. Those who settled in conquered land never legally ceded to them may be uprooted; but this transplantation--under international supervision--would engender nothing like the suffering inflicted over the past twenty years upon the Palestinian Arab.

The suggestion here advanced is that world force make good world commitments to both Israelis and Palestinians. Although both contestants will find this solution unacceptable now, I am convinced we must divest ourselves of the delusion that an acceptable solution exists. The Israeli has been asked time and again to make some major territorial concession aimed at reducing the Arab's sense of outrage and calming his fears concerning Israeli expansionism. This concession he has consistently refused in the most categorical terms. Now it would be imposed upon him. Arab hostility might well lessen immediately or in the long run before this demonstration of world concern for world commitments. But if it did not, world opinion and world force would be there to assure the Israeli his portion of the unholy division.

Perhaps the implementation of such a plan is impossible given the present state of world cooperation. Certainly it would require the assent of both the United States and the U.S.S.R. The United States might well find the plan objectionable because of internal political pressures. Yet, in spite of what many pro-Arabs believe, American administrations have NOT always espoused the Israeli cause; but all have survived without visible scars. It might be that the Soviet Union is too interested in improving her own position in the East to welcome settlement at the moment. Yet the enormity of Soviet difficulties elsewhere in the world has led some analysts to believe she might well welcome a Mediterranean settlement. This much, at any rate, is known: after the second round, when the two super powers worked together, a solution was quickly found. If there is no mutually acceptable solution and if we do not impose a solution, there will most certainly be a fourth, a fifth, or a sixth round. Israel might expand to the East Bank, to the Euphrates, or to the Nile and there might well be a few million more Arab refugees. But during one of these rounds Arab planes might just get to Tel Aviv first. Or the whole world might be incinerated.



ing for that which 45 years of deceptions have demonstrated does not exist.

In 1947 the world community decided that the world plan of 1922 to create in Palestine a Jewish national home respecting the civil and religious rights of the Arabs was not realizable. The one proposition excluded the other. The General Assembly accepted the substance of the majority report of the U.S. Special Committee on Palestine to partition the country into Arab Jewish, and international segments in economic union. This operation was opted for, in spite of the committee minority's warning that it would lay the foundations of dangerous irredentism; a warning which Palestine's last 20 tortured years have tragically borne out.

What the world would do well to realize is that neither Arabs nor Zionists ever really accepted partition as the final answer to the Palestine question. For their part, the Arabs opposed partition, as they had opposed the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, as contrary to the elemental right of the majority to self-determination and to the most basic principles of the League Covenant and of the U.N. Charter. Beyond principle were the specific terms of partition themselves which were to place forty-nine per cent of the Arab population under Zionist rule and assign to the Jews almost the totality of the irrigable lowlands, only nine and a half per cent of which were Jewish-owned at the time.

Twenty years after the deed, by June 1947, partition came to an end. At this moment Israel occupies the whole of Mandate Palestine as well as Sinai and portions of Syria. This state of affairs accords all too well with the early and frequently reiterated territorial ambitions of Zionism to be accepted as pure

claim, the ingathering was "zionizing" the conquered regions as rapidly as it could, while Israeli guns strove desperately to keep the ejected populations at bay. A similar process is observable since the June War. It seems fairly evident that the only factor impeding total Zionization of the West Bank and of Gaza today is the shortage of immigrants to fill the land.

Israel manifestly has never accepted the concrete conditions of partition and there is considerable evidence to indicate that much of Israel rejected the basic concept of partition itself. We are then faced, on the one hand, with an Arab world which has never categorically accepted the legality of the 1947 Partition Resolution and, on the other, with an Israel which invokes it as a basis for its legal right to statehood but has consistently refused to abide by any of the substantive terms of the same resolution.

Another fact the world would do well to keep in mind is that violence has been inherent in the situation since Zionism received its first stamp of approval. Fifty years ago the King-Crane Commission concluded that the Zionist program could only be achieved through the use of force. The British mandatory, after long, sad experience, concluded the same thing in 1946 and so advised both the United Nations and the United States. The Indian-Yugoslav-Iranian report of 1947 arrived at the same conclusion. It is time, I believe, for the world community to forego its pious illusions that all these analysts were wrong and to stop its handwringing efforts to stabilize one military status quo after another. What has happened is precisely what was predicted to happen if Zionism were to succeed. The territorial accomplishment of Israel thus far is

can only be maintained for the foreseeable future by constant resort to the use or threat of force, the force used should properly be that of those who created the condition of conflict, the world community. I am personally among the legion who strongly question the wisdom of the blessing our world organization gave to Zionism 45 years ago and also of the Partition Resolution which created Israel contrary to the wishes of a people who had lived on that ground for 13 centuries.

Nevertheless, what is done is done. The nations that encouraged Jews to go to Palestine over the past two generations have incurred the obligation to make it safe for them to stay there without the day to day threat of being thrown into the sea. But the same world community has also incurred an obligation to the Palestinian. The Mandate of 1922 providing for the national home, together with the Churchill White Paper and Hogarth constructions, put the world community on record as protector of the civil, religious, AND political rights of the indigenous Arabs. Partition, as one-sided as it was, put us on record as favoring an Arab Palestine of somewhat fewer than 4,500 square miles and an international Palestine of 68. Neither of these Palestines exists today. The world community presided over the creation in Palestine of a modern technological civilization, richly capitalized in everything from hard currency to superb human talent, in the midst of a developing people far less adequately equipped for survival in a highly competitive world; it has permitted that creation through its own irresponsibility to extinguish what the world solemnly covenanted to protect.

For the sake of the image of the "Powers" amongst the little peoples who may well one day

HATCHET

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Lt. General Sir John Glubb

System of Belligerent Peace

A GLANCE at the map of the OLD WORLD—Europe, Asia and Africa—will be sufficient to show us that the Middle East, and especially Egypt, is almost

Lieutenant-General Sir John B. Glubb served as the chief of staff of the Arab Legion, Amman, Jordan from 1939 to 1955. Sir John Glubb is known as 'Glubb Pasha' because of his continuing involvement with various Arab nationals since 1920. He is the author of seven books dealing with the Arab Empire.

exactly at the centre of the three continents. The first principle which is essential for us to grasp is that the Middle East owes its vital importance in world politics to this geographical position.

A few days ago, a man said to me, "I have no great opinion of the Egyptians. As far as I am concerned if the Russians want them, they can have them." This attitude shows a complete misunderstanding of world power politics. We do not regard Egypt as important because the assistance of the Egyptian armed forces would add to our strength in war, but because the land where the Egyptians happen to live constitutes an ideal base for the control of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Why is Egypt so ideally situated for the domination of the Old World? This question may be answered in two ways, commercially or strategically.

The products of the Far East and the Indian Ocean countries are quite different from those of Europe and the Mediterranean basin. As a result, since before the dawn of history, these two great areas have always wanted to exchange commodities. Such is the configuration of seas, mountains and deserts, that by far the easiest route for this trade is up and down the Red Sea and through Egypt. As a result, any great power which holds Egypt is able, to a great extent, to control the economies of Europe, India, East Africa, the Far East and Australia. Strategically Egypt is not only nearly

the centre of the Old World but it is virtually at the junction point of Europe, Asia and Africa (the three continents do not literally meet at one point). It is also the only land bridge to Africa. In wartime, a Great Power which holds Egypt with its armed forces can move at will into Europe, Asia or Africa. The Second World War provides an example of this. Because Britain held Egypt, the Western Allies were able to clear the Italians out of Abyssinia, to drive the Germans and Italians from North Africa and to invade Europe from across the Mediterranean and, thirdly, to open a supply route across Lebanon, Syria and Persia by which they supplied war materials to Soviet Russia.

In addition to achieving this freedom of movement, the Great Power which holds Egypt can, of course, deny free movement to her enemies. While Britain held the Middle East, she protected the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic.

The products of Australasia, the Far East, India and Africa were able to reach the Western Allies throughout both World Wars. If Germany had held Egypt, she could have secured naval command of the Red Sea, halted the trade of the Western Allies in the Indian Ocean and drawn the products of Asia and Africa to herself up the Red Sea and through Egypt. If Germany had been holding Egypt, she would have won both the First and the Second World Wars.

This emphasizes a second aspect of the central situation of Egypt. Not only is that country the only land bridge between Africa and the rest of the world but it is also a sea channel connecting East and West. Any Great Power established in Egypt with its fleet, can maintain its naval predominance in the Mediterranean and in the Indian Ocean from the same base. By switching its ships backwards and forwards through the Suez Canal, it can maintain

naval command of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, while its rivals can only oppose it from far distant and widely-separated bases.

From the dawn of history down to our own times, these advantages have been fully appreciated by the strategists of all nations. If we survey all the great empires for the last five thousand years, we think of the Egypt of the Pharaohs, Assyria, Babylonia, the ancient Persians, the Greeks following Alexander, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arab caliphs, the Ottomans and the British. EVERY SINGLE ONE OF THESE EMPIRES HELD EGYPT. EVERY SINGLE ONE OF THEM LOST ITS POWER WHEN IT LOST CONTROL OF EGYPT.

Some people, however, argue that this is the atomic age and that, as a result, the historic bases of strategy are now no longer valid. In reply to such argu-

(See GLUBB, p. 5)

Christian Pineau

Mistaken Notion of Communism

IT IS A FACT that Soviet influence in the Middle East has grown considerably over the last ten years.

To seek the causes of this state of affairs not only leads one to look nostalgically towards the past but also helps one to better understand the present situation.

Christian Paul Francis Pineau was the French minister for foreign affairs from February 1956 to June 1957, the time coinciding with the Suez crisis. From 1947 to 1949 he served as minister for public works, transport and tourism under four different cabinets.

My American friends will not hold it against me if I question the policy practiced by the State Department under John Foster Dulles. If it is true that the late Secretary of State was an energetic man and, in certain aspects of his character, an engaging one, yet he based

his entire course of action in the diplomatic field upon a fundamental error: a mistaken notion of world Communism.

I have never forgotten and I have often cited the following pronouncement which Secretary Dulles made in my presence, during a meeting of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization at Karachi, in March 1956, "that there are two categories of nations, those nations which are Christian and supporters of free enterprise and the others." Now we were in a Moslem country and in one of those underdeveloped regions of the world where quarrels over principle between liberals and statists have no relationship to concrete realities.

Nevertheless, I understood perfectly well his point of view. In his eyes, Communism constituted an undertaking of monolithic, anti-religious subversion, against which all those who claimed to be defending the Western humanist tradition must unite, in a sort of holy war.

Now the facts have proven that this concept was radically erroneous.

In the first place, the schism of the Chinese has demonstrated that there existed, under the single term "Communism," currents of thought which were absolutely different, and indeed contradictory. Between Moscow and Peking the ideological differences are as profound as the methods are divergent. In the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia, in Rumania, economic systems differ because traditions as well as interests are not identical.

In the second place, the problem of religion is not the same in all Communist countries. The Vatican has understood this situation so well that it is now attempting to bring about a rapprochement with the Orthodox Church, whose influence in the Soviet Union remains considerable.

Thirdly, progress in nuclear armaments has furthered the notion of "peaceful coexistence," the risks and consequences of a world conflict no longer being the same as in the age of classic wars. Now "peaceful coexistence," by definition, requires com-

(See PINEAU, p. 6)

Reassessing American Policy

by Abdul A. Said

UNLESS WE ARE to make the indefensible assumption that the Soviet government is manned either by dolts or supermen, we cannot accept the thesis that it staged the June War. No Soviet government could be so stupid as to

Abdul A. Said is a professor of international relations at American University. Dr. Said received his Ph.D. from American.

underestimate the likely risks of a humiliating Arab defeat, discrediting the revolutionary Arabs and their armies—Moscow's trump card in the region, in the aftermath of a war with Israel.

Nor are they supermen. They lack sufficient control of the fluid political systems of Egypt and Syria to drive them to war with Israel. It doesn't require "dialectical reason" to know one cannot buy an Arab—one can only rent him and his price is very high. Because of the high cost, there is little evidence that the Soviets want to control the Arab world; who would want to inherit a cargo of woe?

The vacuum created by the exit of Colonial Powers from the Middle East attracts both the Americans and Soviets. Both see in this region the need for promoting and maintaining their respective interests. However, neither American nor Soviet interests in the Middle East should be considered self-evident and historically permanent principles from which their foreign policies flow. The United States, nonetheless, has a tendency to assimilate the 19th century colonial foreign policies of Britain, France, and Germany to itself in the 20th century. It finds its interests where the interests of the Colonial Powers lay, from Vietnam to Suez. Nonetheless, the question must be raised: does a Great Power today have the same interests as a Great Power of a previous era?

The Soviet interest in the Middle East, as in other parts of the globe such as Southeast Asia and the Far East, has been to respond to check the expanding American sphere of influence. To be sure, Russia has established certain interests in the Middle East related

to oil and defense of Russian territory which it can be expected to protect. Furthermore, in their responses to American initiatives the Russians cannot be expected to turn down any gains. However, the limited nature of Soviet aims in the Middle East must be recognized.

In order to reassess the extent of American interests and capabilities in the Middle East, the June War is fortuitous for American policy towards the region. The predicament in which American foreign policy makers must operate is largely a product of the assumptions upon which American diplomacy has proceeded during the past two decades. These assumptions have become seriously out of tune with the realities of the contemporary Middle East. If American policy is to promote more effectively intra- and extra- Middle Eastern mutual interests, the American conception of the problems of the region must undergo a major overhaul.

The time-honored American policies in the Middle East can be summarily but accurately described as anti-Communism and a guarantee of Israeli territorial integrity. These policies have become counter-productive today, perpetuating rigid splits and concomitant hostilities in the region. Anti-Communism is inappropriate in an area like the Middle East where no ideology throughout history beyond loyalty to clan (including Islam and its contemporary manifestations, pan-Arabism, Arab Socialism, Baathism, Nasserism, etc.) has evoked widespread commitment, where indigenous Communist parties have attained little power, and where the interests of Russia and other Communist states are limited. American policies based upon ideological anti-Communism have helped to divide the region into camps of anti-Communist, reactionary, monarchist states aided by the United States and of revolutionary, populist, non-aligned states which gravitate towards the Soviet Union. Similarly, the American guarantee of Israeli frontiers has helped to perpetuate Israeli isolation within the region. It has allowed the Israelis the luxury of failing to adjust to their objective situation as Middle Easterners. The American commitment to Israel has also given Arab leaders a facile scapegoat ("Zionist and American imperialism") upon which to blame all the ills of the Arab world, perpetuating regional polarity. The policies of anti-

(See SAID, p. 11)

A Perspective

Components of Soviet Mideast Policy

by Bernard Reich

TRADITIONAL RUSSIAN INTERESTS in the Middle East have included controlling the Turkish Straits and gaining warm water ports both in the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf and securing its southern borders against hostile control or attack. These interests early became components of Soviet Middle East policy and have increased in importance to the

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Soviets because of their great power status and ideological aspirations. To these they have added an attempt to supplant Western influence with a Soviet and Communist presence.

Until recently Soviet policies in support of its Middle East interests have been relatively passive although the Soviets utilized military, political, economic and psychological techniques to further their interests in the Northern Tier and the Arab East between 1917 and

1945. During the period between World War I and World War II there were practically no direct relations between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, and the Soviets acted, therefore, through the Comintern and the small, and rather inefficient, Communist parties in the Arab states and in Palestine. The official party line was to favor Arab nationalism and to side with it against Zionism which was officially described as an instrument of British imperialism.

World War II inaugurated a series of changes in Soviet policy and commitments in the Middle East. In 1946 and early 1947 Moscow supported Arab independence movements and their demands for withdrawal of Western troops from the area. In late 1947 and in 1948 Soviet support was given to Zionist aspirations for the establishment and consolidation of a Jewish State in Palestine. In November 1947, the Soviet Union supported the majority plan of the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) which called for the partition of that political unit, and, in essence, provided for the establishment of the State of Israel. The Soviets accorded de jure recognition to Israel shortly after its independence in May 1948 and supported its applications for membership in the United Nations.

In 1949 Soviet policy began shifting toward the position that its objectives in the Middle East could not be achieved by supporting Israel. From 1949 to 1953 Moscow's position with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict was formally neutral, though characterized by a continuous deterioration in Soviet-Israeli relations and a corresponding improvement in relations with the Arab States. The next two years, 1953 to 1955, saw Moscow shift to a cautious and careful pro-Arab stand which, in 1955, became a policy of full diplomatic support for the Arabs in their

anti-Israel and anti-West positions.

The year 1955 was an important milestone in Soviet relations with the Middle East for it signaled the beginning of a new approach in Soviet attempts to secure influence in the area. The Soviets sought to bypass the Baghdad Pact area and concentrated on the Arab core of the Middle East. The Soviet advance was reflected in increased political, economic and cultural ties between its bloc and the Arab world and was foreshadowed by a revival of Middle Eastern studies in the U.S.S.R. and by a major Middle East policy statement which noted the willingness of the Soviet Union "to support and develop cooperation with all Near and Middle Eastern countries in the interests of strengthening peace in this area." An initial act was the Egyptian-Czechoslovakian arms deal of October 1955.

This Soviet policy has exploited the Arab-Israeli dispute, Arab-Arab differences and Arab anti-Western sentiment, initially directed against the Baghdad Pact, and used these as vehicles for entry into the region. The policy has been based on the building of state-to-state relations primarily through an extensive program of aid and trade. Between 1955 and 1967 the Soviets experienced considerable success in establishing a presence in the region by the use of these techniques.

The 1967 war between Israel and its neighboring Arab states shed new light on Soviet Middle East policy and indicated something of its successes and limitations. It is clear that the Soviet Union is now a major external influence in the politics of the Middle East. Since the June War there has been a dramatic increase in the Soviet presence in the area which has been most apparent in the large Soviet naval fleet in the Mediterranean; the Soviet resupply of military

(See REICH, p. 8)



Straining Credibility

Questioning Glubb Thesis

by I.L. Kenen

HAVING LIVED so long among the Arabs, Sir John Bagot Glubb has adopted their conspiracy theory of history. Surely it strains credibility - which seems to be undergoing a universal strain - to put forward the thesis that the wily Russians deliberately egged the

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Arabs into a losing war last June with the expectation that they could later pick up the diplomatic pieces and emerge as the dominant power in the Near East.

There is no doubt that the Russians do bear a heavy responsibility for the Arab disaster. They have long backed the Arabs with economic, diplomatic and military support. They became more aggressive prior to the June War, challenging the U.S. Sixth Fleet's dominance in the Mediterranean and seeking to extend their influence in Yemen, Aden and South Arabia.

They were spurred on by the baiting of Communist China and by fear that the reverses suffered by their proteges in Ghana and Indonesia would be duplicated in Cairo and Damascus. They were worried by the reckless terrorist tactics of the Syrian Baathists who were waging a frontier war against Israel and screaming for Israel's instant destruction. It is widely believed that the Russians urged Nasser to put his troops in Sinai in order to bring pressure on Israel's southern frontier and thus deter the Israelis from any move against Syria.

For all this, Russians must accept blame. But did they really want the Egyptians to attack Israel? Apparently they did not foresee the consequences of their counsel; that an imaginative Nasser would force UNEF out of Gaza and Sinai, close the Straits of Tiran and unite the UAR, Jordan, Syria and Iraq in a military cordon around Israel, reaching a pinnacle of

power with its irresistible temptation to overwhelm Israel to liquidate her once and for all.

When the Russians came to appreciate the danger, they tried to stop Nasser. There is testimony by competent authority. The distinguished journalist, Alexander Werth, writes in *The Nation* of Feb. 12:

"If the Russians raised no serious objections to these moves, regarding them as merely a 'warning' to Israel, they grew extremely alarmed on June 2, and one of their diplomats rushed to see Nasser at 3 a.m. on June 3 to warn him against an Egyptian attack, which, the Russians had learned, was to be launched against Israel that every day."

Similarly, Walter Laqueur, an authority on Soviet policy, writes in the February issue of *Encounter* (British publication) that the two great powers "made a concerted effort to restrain both Israel and the Arab countries. But when the Soviet Ambassador asked Nasser not to fire the first shot, things had already gone too far."

It defies logic to suggest that the Russians deliberately plotted a war in which Nasser would be defeated, for they themselves suffered heavy losses in equipment and prestige.

But going beyond the question of motives, one may challenge Glubb's assessment of the Soviet Union's alleged gain in influence and power.

It will take the Arabs a long time to forget the Kremlin's failure to come to their rescue. It is to erase this memory that the Soviet Union rehabilitated the arsenals and armies of Egypt, Syria and Iraq and provided thousands of Soviet instructors and technicians to train them. But the heavy-handed Egyptian officers do not welcome constant tutelage by the hard-working Russians.

The Russians failed the Arabs on the diplomatic front as well. Premier Alexei Kosygin himself came to the United Nations to try to force Israel to withdraw from occupied territories. But the United States insists that any withdrawal must be in the context of agreement and peace, and our U.N. delegation refused to join the Russians in their anti-Israel pressure. The Soviet-Arab bloc could not muster the two-thirds majority needed at the U.N. General Assembly, and it is significant that most of the countries where there is

(See KENEN, p. 11)

Glubb-from p. 3

'British Go Out; Russians Come In'

ments it may be said, first of all, that it is not certain that there ever will be a nuclear world war. There have been more wars in the last 20 years than in most previous periods of history, but they have not been nuclear. In spite of this fact, however, these "conventional" wars have completely changed the pattern of world power. We are, therefore, obliged to admit that whereas nuclear strategy may be of vital importance, "conventional" strategy is just as much so. Indeed conventional strategy is daily revolutionizing the pattern of world power, while nuclear strategy may or may not ever be required.

One of the greatest weakness in the geopolitical thinking of the Western Powers is their antiquated habit of thinking of war as an independent activity in contrast to peace. This unconscious mental conception dates from the time when nations at peace treated one another with courtesy until a formal declaration of war was made, after which every injury could be inflicted.

These conceptions are, alas, completely out of date, a fact which the United States and Britain have been slow to realize. Rules and conventions, chivalry and courtesy are almost unknown in international relations, and rival Great Powers endeavour to do one another as much injury as possible all the time. Whether for this purpose they use nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, economic weapons, the arms industry, propaganda, treachery or subversion is no longer decided by conventional rules, but solely by the advantage of the user.

Formerly, in peace time, international relations were conducted by statesmen and diplomats and were of no concern of soldiers, sailors or airmen. Then if war were declared, the generals and the admirals took charge, and the diplomat went out of business until

the return of peace. Now, however, politicians, diplomats and the armed forces are-or should be-a single weapon, continuously employed together, like meshing cogwheels of a single machine.

There are two forms of this new system of belligerent-peace which will especially concern us here: first, power-diplomacy, and second, small wars. Russian diplomacy and propaganda has been active in the last 20 years all over the world but for a long time made little or no progress in southern Asia or Africa. The Russians seemed to be an infinite distance away and few people in these countries had ever seen one. In the Middle East, moreover, the Russians were looked upon with mistrust as atheists.

The Americans and the British, on the contrary, were everywhere. Their ships constantly visited the ports, their technicians provided advice, their troops and aircraft occupied the principal bases. The British and the Americans were among the facts of life with which every Asian and African government was obliged to deal.

Since June 1967, however, this situation has been completely reversed in the Middle East. The Russians now are as firmly in control of Egypt as Britain ever was. Russian warships lie in the former British naval bases in Alexandria and Port Said. Russian technicians advise in Syria. Russian oilmen are negotiating in Iraq.

Britain has given up the struggle and is rapidly abandoning the whole area. As the British leave one country after another, the Russians move in. The idealistic dreams of liberals that, if the British went, all these little countries would be independent, is not in process of fulfillment. As the British go out, the Russians come in.

Russia has only obtained complete control of Egypt since the Arab-Israel war in June 1967. As already pointed out, however, any Great Power which holds Egypt can move into Europe, Asia or Africa at will. Such expansion need not mean war but, in accordance with the modern technique of armed-diplomacy-propaganda, it involves the presence of armed forces. Relations with Russia are no longer an academic subject to Asian and African governments. With Russian warships lying off-shore, all the local governments are obliged to reassess their position. There is no doubt that the Russian presence in Egypt will result in their expansion into Africa and southern Asia, unless the United States reconsiders its policy.

I have already indicated that the new belligerent-peace makes use of two methods--power diplomacy as just described and, secondly, small wars. One of the most remarkable phenomena of our times is the fact that there have been incessant small wars in the last twenty years, in the majority of which American or British armed forces have been actively engaged. The Russian armed forces, however, have never been in action since the Second World War. Yet the result of this 20 year period is that Russia has grown vastly in power and prestige, the United States has lost the respect of a great part of the world and the British have almost ceased to count.

The successive outbreaks of hostility between the Israelis and their neighbours provides an illustration of these processes. The Jews in Eastern Europe, principally Poland, Russia and Germany, had endured terrible sufferings during and between the two World Wars. These persecutions evoked deep emotional sympathy in the United States and Britain. The

(See GLUBB, p. 12)



Middle East Balance of Power

ON A RECENT lecture tour in the United States, Sir John Glubb (see p. 3) indicated his belief that prior to the Middle East War of 1967, the Soviet Union intentionally supplied Egypt with misinformation about Israeli troop movements against the Syrian border. The motive, he says, was to so polarize the Middle East situation, to so alienate Egypt from the West, that Nasser and his Arab allies would have no friend but the Soviet Union. The outbreak of war achieved this precondition for Russian entry as a Mediterranean Power, achieving the Russian goal of centuries' duration.

We asked our contributors to discuss Glubb's thesis, as well as the Mediterranean balance of power in general. The results were indicative of a major division of opinion. While former French Minister for Foreign Affairs Pineau seems to tacitly accept the idea, Dr. Howard Sachar calls the June War a "coup for American foreign policy" and a major reversal for the Soviets. I.L. Kenen remarks that Glubb must have lived for too long among the Arabs and adopted their conspiracy view of history.

The question of how and why the war was provoked may seem an academic one. Yet its poignancy was evident when the Associated Press reported the

statements of former Egyptian War Minister Shamseddin Badran, indicating that Egyptian intelligence had checked out the Soviet information about Israeli troop movements -- and discovered its falsity. This AP story was as recent as Feb. 24.

There are larger implications, however, to the discussion of the Soviet role in the recent war. Of greatest importance to this nation and to the NATO Allies is the expanded Soviet presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus far, the most publicized aspect of this threat has been the increased naval strength. Recent reports indicate that more ships and planes will be added to the already existing force. Is Allied naval power still dominant in the Mediterranean? Is the Vietnam War substantially weakening this strength? These are questions our contributors have tried to answer; these are problems our government must seek to resolve.

If there is one fact upon which all the contributors seem to agree, it is that the Middle East is a potential powder keg, not only for the active belligerents, Israel and the Arab states, but also for the Soviet Union and the United States. It may be difficult, it may be impossible, but in the heat of the Middle East, cool heads must prevail.

Pineau--from p. 3

Toward a Less Precarious Balance

promises, conversations, and whether one wishes it or not, certain actual rapprochements.

Finally, in the same way that the trees hide the woods, the Communist aspect of problems has often caused the national content of those problems to be overlooked.

Thus, with regard to the Middle East, it has sometimes been forgotten that Soviet policy was motivated less by ideological considerations than by a secular tradition according to which the Russians have always sought free access to the Mediterranean.

From his fundamental error, John Foster Dulles drew a conclusion, applicable to the entire world: American power alone was capable of combatting Communist pressure wherever it manifested itself. In his thinking, all other nations were more or less suspect of possible compromise with the "Enemy."

This is why the Americans with a certain sense of satisfaction-relieved the French in Vietnam, without weighing all the complications which this course of action might entail.

This is why the American government, at the time of the Suez Crisis, prevented Anglo-French action from coming to fruition, thus transforming into a diplomatic set-back an operation which was capable of preserving Western influence in the Middle East. The consequences of this error have been grave. On the one hand, the English in the end were forced to withdraw to Europe. As far as the French were concerned, the Atlantic Pact was condemned. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the anti-American stand of General de Gaulle gained nourishment from the disappointment suffered by French public opinion because of the attitude, during the Suez crisis, of our principal ally.

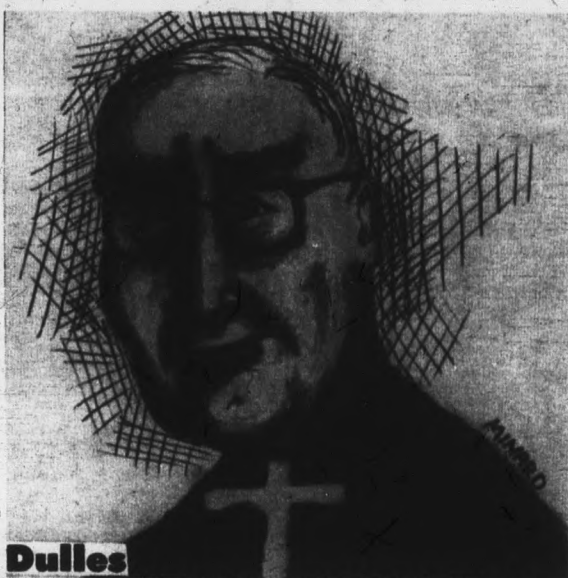
Finally, the Americans still believed ten years ago that after the French withdrawal from Algeria, which they did not question, it would be THEIR influence which would remain as the determinant in North Africa. Such has not been the case.

Who could reproach the Soviet Union for having accepted gifts offered to her, gifts of which the Tsars had never had the opportunity to take advantage?

It is clear that John Kennedy took cognizance of the mistake which had been made. It is interesting to note that it was at about this same time that Pope John XXIII and he put forward the notion of peaceful coexistence between peoples subjected to different ideologies, obtaining through this approach an initial result: the digging of the ditch between the Soviet bloc and the Chinese bloc.

But, in certain areas of the world, the harm was done. The Americans are now alone in the Far East, and they are alone there because that is what they wanted. Whatever one's fundamental judgment on the war in Vietnam, it must be recognized that the American position is today an uncomfortable one.

There remains the Middle East. If General de Gaulle believes that he is playing a role



there, he is mistaken, for French influence is not sufficient to counterbalance that of the Soviet Union. As for Great Britain, she has for all practical purposes renounced any major intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Through a curious paradox, it is today the State of Israel which represents Western civilization in this part of the world. It does so under the most difficult conditions, considering the racial and religious character of the opposition between Jew and Arab. The Americans, who had supported Nasser in 1956, were, in 1967, forced to reverse positions.

As for the Soviets, they are motivated by two concerns: first, to consolidate, and, if possible, to increase the advantages they have already acquired; second, not to run the risk of a major confrontation with the United States. To meet these demands, they must support Arab policy and at the same time not permit the destruction of the State of Israel, which could bring about a world war.

For a while, they did entertain the illusion that they could parti-

cipate in the economic development of the Arab nations of Egypt, in particular their participation in the construction of the Aswan dam proves this. Later, they came to the realization that Nasser was incapable of resolving such problems and that they were getting themselves involved in too costly an undertaking. They had but one means left of maintaining their influence: to exploit to the fullest Israeli-Arab rivalry by furnishing arms to Egypt in a carefully measured quantity - a relatively economic means, for the material furnished is drawn from the outmoded surplus of the Soviet military.

The defeat of Nasser, in 1967, assuredly did not take the Soviets by surprise, for their military experts are too experienced to commit serious errors of judgment. This defeat, furthermore, served Russian ends, for the Leader, humiliated in order not to lose face, had to announce a future reprisal. Who could furnish him the means, at least the apparent means, if not the Soviet Union?

A subtle political course, no

doubt, but one which is perfectly coherent.

It remains to be seen whether such balancing exercises do not eventually endanger the peace of the world.

The weakness of the United States in the Middle East derives from the fact that the Americans do not occupy any territory there, as did the British when they prevented Rommel from reaching Suez. The Vietnamese experience proves that nuclear weapons play no role in a war of subversion. A powerful navy certainly constitutes a support arm, but one which is insufficient. So much is this the case that in the Far East the United States must commit more and more troops to the containment of a pressure which is exerting itself directly upon receptive populations.

Will the Russians not be tempted one day to take advantage of this weakness? I still have hopes that they will not, and for two reasons: the first, already stated, being that they do not wish to run the risk of useless dangers. The second is that the disappearance of the State of Israel, by facilitating the unification of the Arab World, would threaten to make Russian influence in the Middle East less indispensable. Therefore, they have an interest in maintaining an explosive situation for as long as possible and in taking advantage of it in order to increase, little by little, their own political influence.

In conclusion, one may hope that the termination of the war in Vietnam, which will have to come about eventually, will permit a detente in international tensions between East and West and that a real accord among the great powers will set up a less precarious balance in the Middle East.

Translation by Robert M. Riggs, assistant professor of French.

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Interview with Howard Sachar

'A Soviet Reverse of the First Order'

Dr. Howard Morley Sachar is a professor of history at GW. He received his A.B. degree from Swarthmore College in 1947 and his A.M. in 1950 and his Ph.D. in 1953 at Harvard University. In 1961 Dr. Sachar founded the Hiett Institute in Jerusalem, Israel, on behalf of Brandeis University to further undergraduate study of the political and social institutions of an emergent nation.

The following is the transcript of a taped interview with Dr. Sachar.

ENCOUNTER: What factors do you consider influenced the Egyptians to close the Straits of Tiran and move 80,000 men into the Sinai Peninsula? SACHAR: Evidently, Nasser saw the opportunity to score a political coup by making a show of strength in the Sinai Peninsula, and in this fashion to buttress his protegee regimes in Syria and the Yemen. What probably happened is that he was carried away by the wave of popular support evoked by this act. Like many Arab politicians, he succumbed to a kind of self-intoxication, and convinced himself that he could close the Straits of Tiran and still avoid any serious danger of Israeli counteraction.

I believe that the reason he thought he could get away with this can be ascribed to two factors. The first was an incorrect assessment of political factiousness within the Republic of Israel itself. The ruling, the dominating Mapai Party has been splinterized and only shakily patched together within the last year and a half. The political weakness of the Jews, as Nasser interpreted it, apparently was compounded by an economic recession in that country in the last two or three years, and it was therefore his belief that the Israel of 1967 was not the Israel of 1956, and that it would not be able to mobilize popular support for a war as it had in the original Sinai Campaign in 1956. Of course, if he were an astute student of history, he would have recognized that political factiousness and economic doldrums within a nation (and I would add that they have been profoundly exaggerated in the case of Israel), have often provided the ideal opportunity for government to embark upon foreign war, thereby crystallizing popular support behind it. But sophistication has not been the hallmark of Arab politics, and this assessment was as disastrously short-sighted as his previous one in 1956.

Secondly, and perhaps more important, was Nasser's belief that Israel would not dare move without assurances of foreign support. Those assurances were available to the Jews before the initial Sinai Campaign in 1956, particularly the support of France. It seemed obvious to Nasser that this support no longer existed in 1967; the French were no longer

a factor in the Eastern Mediterranean, while the British were preoccupied and indeed demobilizing their forces in other parts of the world. Most significantly, the United States was evidently hopelessly bogged down in other parts of the world. It therefore appeared to Nasser as if Israel were incapable of launching, let alone winning, a decisive military campaign entirely on its own.

This, of course, was a fatal miscalculation on his part. In every war between the Arab world and Israel, the Jews have won with increasing decisiveness. Thus, Nasser's final gamble in closing the Straits of Tiran (which in

been fixated by Egyptian strength and fearful of so much as recognizing Israel, remained a close friend of the Israeli regime and an important adjunct of Israel's strength in East Africa, and all of this well before the War of 1967.

The recent campaign, therefore took place at a time when Nasser had passed the era of his greatest vitality, and from what we are told, the period of his best health. It comes at a time when many of the African states have had second thoughts about their relationship with Egypt and have contemplated a reorientation of their policy vis-a-vis the West. This is true of Ghana as the most

worth mentioning here that the United Nations' truce observers detected no serious concentration of Israeli troops along the Syrian border. Israel itself, of course, denied this danger. But the Syrian regime believed it. The Syrian regime fearfully transmitted its suspicion of an imminent blow to the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union, unwilling to allow its satrapy to be jeopardized, to allow the regime in Damascus to be compromised by a telling defeat at the hands of the Jews, turned to the strongest military power in the Arab World for help.

So much then for the element of truth



A barrier in divided Jerusalem prior to the June War.

Photo by Brechner

international law, of course, is an act of war), proved to be perhaps the most disastrous gamble of his career. I saw that because I do not believe that this man, creature of nine lives though he is, will really be able to regain his lost prestige as a consequence of this war. In fact, he never really regained it after 1956. His political strength was at its apogee in 1955 following the original arms deal with the Soviet World and the spate of revolutions which took place in the Arab World immediately thereafter. That influence extended even to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, where Hussein's expulsion of Sir John Bagot Glubb was evidence of the Egyptian dictator's overweening power.

But after the debacle of the First Sinai War of 1956, Nasser failed to regain his former charisma. Certainly an anti-Nasserist regime sat firmly in Amman in the Hashemite Kingdom, and his adventure in the Yemen proved to be a fiasco. Even in Iraq, where there is a very strong leftist government, there was no irretrievably close connection between Baghdad and Cairo before this summer, and there certainly is not now. Ethiopia, which once had

dramatic example. It comes at a time when the adventure in the Yemen has virtually been closed out. And finally, too, it comes at a time when Nasser's most important client state, the Republic of Syria, has been so devastatingly battered by the Israeli Army, that I would venture to predict that within the next 18 months, we may well see a coup in Damascus which would substitute a more moderate regime in that nation.

For all of these reasons, therefore, I cannot avoid the conclusion that from the Egyptian point of view, no less than the Soviet point of view, the War of 1967 was a political reverse of the first order.

ENCOUNTER: Sir John Glubb has theorized that the Soviets intentionally gave the Egyptians misinformation about Israeli troop movements against the Syrian border, provoking the closing of the Tiran Straits and eventually, the Six Day War. Do you see any merit in his argument?

SACHAR: I am familiar with Sir John Glubb's theory. He articulated it during a number of recent speaking engagements in this country. My own feeling is that he was right in the smallest part of his statement, but wrong in its largest implication.

He is right, certainly, that the Soviets did give the Egyptians misinformation about Israeli troop movements against the Syrian border. One must understand, first of all, that there is hardly any country in the world, with the possible exception of East Germany, which has been more attuned to Soviet policy, more violently opposed to the West in recent years, than the exceptionally leftist regime of the Syrian Republic. And when, out of the combination of hatred for the West and profoundly exacerbated Arab nationalism, the Syrian regime in recent years encouraged terrorist activities against Israel, it was not unnatural, in view of past history, to expect that Israel would retaliate. There was little doubt, indeed, that if Israel wanted to retaliate with force and effect, it could do so. In view of the growing violence against its border settlements in past years, it seemed quite likely that the Jews would strike back vigorously against the Syrians in a place of Israel's own choosing. It is

in Sir John Glubb's statement.

The larger implication of his theory, however, that the Soviets intentionally gave the Egyptians misinformation about Israeli troop movements is, I think, wrong. It is his contention that the Soviet regime expected Israel to win that war; and thereby the Arab nations, most particularly Egypt, would be thrust even more irretrievably into the hands of their Soviet protectors.

First of all, the best intelligence estimates after the June War suggest that Moscow intended the Egyptians simply to make a show of strength, presumably giving the Israeli government pause. In fact, when it appeared that Israel was not going to stand by and permit the Straits of Tiran to be closed, there is solid evidence that the Soviet government warned Egypt to avoid provoking an armed confrontation with the Jews. Even the closure of the Straits of Tiran took the Soviet government entirely by surprise. Moscow certainly had no indication whatever that Nasser would allow events of his own emotions to get on top of him.

But more important, the Soviet reaction during the very height of conflict, in the very midst of Israel's devastating offensive against the Egyptian armed forces, was not the reaction of a government which expected and indeed anticipated an Egyptian defeat. I've had occasion, for example, to talk to members of the Israeli Embassy who were in Moscow during the fighting itself. They stated that the Soviet regime was almost beside itself with hysteria, that people whom they knew well had totally lost their composure, that there was almost total pandemonium in the Middle East section of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

We have had several not unreliable accounts, moreover, that the Soviet regime, frantic to restore the balance of power in the Middle East, sent its fleet ominously close to the Eastern Mediterranean. There is no reason to doubt that the quiet deployment of the Sixth Fleet for combat action encouraged cooler heads to prevail in the Soviet government. Indeed, the entire stance of Soviet diplomacy, once it became evident that Israel had destroyed the bulk of Egyptian

(See SACHAR, p. 8)



Sachar--from p. 7

'Coups for American Foreign Policy'

armed power, was that of a badly distraught government seeking to retrieve as best it could the momentarily shattered wreckage of its prestige in the Middle East.

For these various reasons, therefore, it does not appear to me that Soviet policy was quite as devious or circuitous as Glubb would have us believe.

ENCOUNTER: Do you believe that the war was a blow to American strength in the Mediterranean? Was it a major reversal?

SACHAR: I do not think so. The initial goal of Soviet policy has been to strengthen the Arab "neutrals" in the Middle East, and most particularly those states that are closely related to Colonel Nasser, that have gravitated into his orbit within recent years--Syria, to a certain extent Iraq, and partially at least, the crypto-Nasserist government in the Yemen. One does not strengthen a group of client states by encouraging their demoralization on the battlefield. If they lose, there is always the real danger of revolutions that would substitute anti-Nasserist and overtly anti-Soviet regimes in these various Arab capitals.

To the extent, therefore, that this did not happen, that is to say that the Soviet government's clients did not win, did not consolidate their strength, and thereby did not augment Soviet prestige in the Middle East, certainly the recent war was not a blow to American strength in the Mediterranean. On the contrary, it was a coup for American foreign



The Arab city of Acre near Haifa, Israel.

Photo by Brechner

policy. You ask therefore whether it was a major reversal. My own view is that it was not a reversal at all.

ENCOUNTER: Time Magazine, on Dec. 22 of this last year, indicated that Soviet warships were operating out of Latakia in Syria, Alexandria and Port Said in Egypt, and were even visiting the famous French base at Mers-el-Kebir in Algeria. In view of this situation, would you consider

that the Russian goal of centuries, to reach the Mediterranean, has finally been realized?

SACHAR: In other words, the question is whether the destruction of Arab strength at the hands of the Israelis has given the Soviet fleet the opportunity now to make even more pragmatic and extensive use of the various Arab bases in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Maghrib. My answer would be that the

accessibility of these various bases to the Soviet regime has very little to do at all with the recent war in the Middle East. After all, the more effective the program of Soviet military aid and training in the Arab World appeared to be, the more likely that the relationship between the Arab World and the Soviet regime would be tightened. The Soviet program proved disastrously ineffective. Moreover, there was

great bitterness in Cairo that the Soviet government could not give more help than it did when the Egyptian armies were being demolished.

What we see today is simply a natural acceleration of an historical process by which Arab nations have always respected the most visible source of power in their region. Once that power was Turkish, then British, then American. Today, in their eyes, the power seems to be increasingly Russian. The hostility between Israel and Egypt, and particularly Israel's victory has nothing to do with the augmentation of Russian power. The waning of American naval strength in the Middle East has everything to do with it. This attrition is in no way related to the Arab-Israeli confrontation, but rather to priority of demands in other parts of the world. I'm speaking, obviously of the Far East.

But let me indicate here that I am not passing judgment on the American posture in the Far East. On the contrary, I happen to be one of those intellectuals (I suspect I am, in a minority today), who believes that American policy in Vietnam, Korea, and the South China Seas is essentially an inevitable and a right policy. But precisely because America finds itself so heavily, and I believe rightly involved in that part of the world, it has been difficult to augment and to supplement its strength in the Eastern Mediterranean. And it is precisely this fact which the Arab World, most particularly Egypt, thought it could exploit as it sought to throttle Israel by closing the Straits of Tiran, and which in fact, the Soviet government is now exploiting by moving into the partial vacuum which American preoccupation elsewhere has created in the Eastern Mediterranean.

ENCOUNTER: Is the British withdrawal also helping to create this vacuum?

SACHAR: I'm not sure yet. The British are clearly withdrawing from the Persian Gulf, but there may be some faint hope that a few of their units, most particularly the naval units that are being withdrawn from Bahrain, may in fact be stationed in the Eastern Mediterranean. This was probably one of the subjects

(See SACHAR, p. 9)

Reich--from p. 4

Russia, U. S. Face Similar Problems

equipment to Syria and Egypt to replace material lost or destroyed in that conflict; and various other developments such as the supply of armaments to Yemen and an oil agreement with

Iraq. The Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations with the Arab states and has severed relations with Israel.

The continuing Soviet interest and growing Soviet presence in

the region since the June War have led some observers to detect a well-thought-out and cleverly designed Soviet master plan which far-outshadows U. S. Middle East policy in terms of

design and accomplishment. The evidence suggests some difficulties with this analysis. Soviet policy in the region has generally sought to avoid a military confrontation with the United States (in much the same way as the United States seeks to avoid a confrontation with the Soviets) but the danger of such a confrontation was heightened during the 1967 crisis. There were, and are, indications that the Soviets face some difficulty in controlling their "client" states in the region.

The Soviets now face a greater risk of involvement in Arab-Arab and Arab-Israeli disputes, and perhaps in the escalation of these regional conflicts into general war, because of their greater presence as advisors to various military units in Egypt and Syria and because they have increased influence without commensurate ability to control. This, in part, accounts for their closer supervision over equipment supplied to the Arab states in the post-June period.

There are indications that the Soviets seem to be facing many of the same problems the United States faces in the formulation of a comprehensive policy dealing with all aspects of political and economic activity in the Middle East. The Soviets seem to be concentrating, at least for the present, on an ad hoc approach to the area--utilizing the opportunities of the moment to the best of their ability. Their major long-range goal seems to remain the reduction of Western, particularly United States, influence in the region and concomitantly expansion of their own role



The Straits of Tiran

Sachar--from p. 8

Unnecessary to Placate Arab Nationalism

of conversation between Prime Minister Wilson and President Johnson several weeks ago. If, indeed, this turns out to be the case, then the vacuum will at least have partially been plugged.

May I make it clear, however, that we ought not to take the existence of this vacuum in the Eastern Mediterranean too literally. Western strength in its traditional Mediterranean bailiwick has undoubtedly waned. But that strength is still more extensive than that of the Soviet Union. Much has been made of the alarming fact that many Soviet naval units are now sailing into that part of the world. But nothing could have stopped them from sailing in earlier. After all, according to the Montreux Convention, it is entirely possible for the naval vessels of the Soviet Union to pass out of the Black Sea into the Eastern Mediterranean as long as they are not engaged in active war.

What we see today, therefore, could have taken place a year or two ago; it strictly depended upon how many ships the Soviet Union had available and those ships are becoming available just about this time. The question is whether or not those ships are adequate to present a serious challenge to NATO strength in the Eastern Mediterranean.

My own feeling is that they do not yet constitute a formidable challenge. They are meant more for purposes of political prestige in the Arab World than as a major threat against NATO naval power in the Mediterranean. Thus far, in fact, even without the American Sixth Fleet, the navies of the NATO nations, even those limited forces that are under the direct command of NATO in the Mediterranean, would probably be adequate to deal with this Soviet naval presence. Certainly the additional availability of the American Sixth Fleet lends a vital dimension of muscle to Allied naval power.

ENCOUNTER: What failures, if any, of American policy in the past have culminated in the present situation?

SACHAR: To the degree that war broke out at all in the Middle East in the summer of 1967, American policy was not a success. It is never really in the American interest for serious fighting to erupt in any part of the world. The idea of American policy has been equanimity, and hopefully detente with the Soviet Union. Wars anywhere threaten the chance of detente. One sensed this danger in the doleful expression on Lyndon Johnson's face the morning he was first notified that war had erupted between Egypt and Israel.

Yet the outbreak of war was by no means a disaster for the United States in the Middle East. After all, it is America's purpose to insure a balance of strength in the Eastern Mediterranean. Not simply because it has certain commitments to the State of Israel. Not only because it views the danger of overweening Russian power in the Middle East as linked closely to

overweening Egyptian strength in that part of the world. I saw that it was not a disaster for American policy because even before the recent war the U.S. government had been rethinking its attitude toward the Arab World.

Clearly the Johnson Administration had decided that it was unnecessary to placate Arab nationalism--especially on the Israel issue--as reflexively as during the period of the Eisenhower Administration. Throughout that earlier period, the State Department was deeply preoccupied with the danger of losing access to Arab oil, of losing crucial leases on air bases and naval bases in Arab territory. State was particularly obsessed with the danger of the Arab World gravitating irretrievably into the Soviet orbit. In those days, accordingly, Washington adopted an almost antiseptic policy of neutrality between Israel and the Arabs. Neutrality, however, was equated with refusal to supply Israel with weapons to counterbalance the cornucopia of Soviet weaponry which was pouring into Egypt, and to a certain extent into Iraq and Syria. This policy was significantly altered even before the recent war, and for a number of reasons.

One is the fact that Arab oil is rather less important to America's NATO Allies than formerly. Other sources of fuel have gradually been developed. Not only atomic fuel, but also vast quantities of natural gas have been discovered in the North Sea in recent years and can do almost anything oil can do--except perhaps lubricate a vehicle. Ironically, Soviet and Rumanian petroleum are also available now in large quantities for the West European market. These changes explained the absence of panic in the West when the Arab oil boycott was announced. The boycott did not endure, in any case.

Secondly, the United States is no longer dependent

upon the Arab World for air or naval bases. The perfection of the ICBM and the Polaris in recent years has largely freed this country from the kind of Arab blackmail which once worked very successfully in the Eisenhower Administration. We've closed down the Dhahran Air Force Base in Arabia; we no longer really need the Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya. Like the British, we have long managed to function without access to the great naval bases of Egypt and Syria. Thus, the strategic factors that were so crucial in the past are far less so today in American policy.

But most important of all, the United States discovered well before the recent war that the danger of the Arabs swinging almost reflexively into the Soviet orbit was seriously exaggerated. The changes taking place behind the Iron Curtain itself have had something to do with this reappraisal. It has plainly been difficult for the Soviet Union in recent years to control the policy of Bucharest or Belgrade or even of Warsaw. How infinitely more difficult then, it would be for the Soviet Union permanently to control the policy of countries as far away as Egypt, or Syria or Iraq, and especially nations endowed with such undependable, such volatile, and mercurial populations. With such friends, one may be tempted to ask, who needs enemies? In any case, I think this fixation is one which the State Department exercised long before the recent war.

There are even some diplomats, not necessarily influenced by political factors, who have concluded that a stable democracy like Israel may in the long run be the most dependable kind of ally in the Eastern Mediterranean. The military consequences of the Six Day War have done nothing to weaken this reassessment.

Political, Moral Russian Defeat

by Menahem Golon

WITH ALL DUE RESPECT to Sir John Glubb, I think that his interpretation, original as it may be, is nevertheless slightly far-fetched. I don't think the Russians were interested in an Arab defeat. On the contrary,

Menahem Golon was formerly the Israeli Ambassador to the Union of South Africa.

they hoped to involve the Middle East and the West (especially the United States) in a prolonged struggle in order to gain a bargaining position vis-a-vis Vietnam.

Israel's swift victory amounted to a defeat not only for the prestige of Soviet war material, but it was also viewed as a moral and political defeat of Russia in the Middle East. Moreover, it could easily have happened (and it almost did!) that, as a result of defeat, the pro-Soviet regimes in Egypt and Syria be swept away by the right wing and pro-Western opposition which still exists in both countries.

It is difficult to state what the exact motives of the Russians were, but my guess is that the Russians did not believe that our government (especially as Eshkol is known as a "dove") would go to war over the Tiran Straits. They were convinced, (and so were Nasser and de Gaulle), that Egypt would get away with the closing of the Straits, as this time Israel would have to fight alone. They sincerely believed that during the Sinai campaign Israel won the war only because of French and English support, rather than in spite of it. In our opinion, both allies were more of a hindrance than a help.



An old railway tunnel between Lebanon and Israel closed in 1948. The border is at the top of the mountain.

Photo by Brechner

Nasser's Mass Media

'An Insight Into the Egyptian Mind'

by Edward Gnehm

"U.S. PLANS 'Suez' Invasion of Syria" the headline of the Egyptian Gazette blared forth. Stunned, I rushed forward, paid my two and a half piastres and lustily read the front page article.

Edward (Skip) Gnehm spent nine months studying at the American University in Cairo, Egypt, last year. He is a graduate teaching assistant in international affairs at GW.

My apprehensions quickly turned to laughter when I realized that the newspaper offered no concrete support for its accusation. I could only think of the fun my friends in the States would have had with such an article.

My lack of understanding of Cairo was soon shown. I reached the campus of the American University, and, seeing a group of Arab students I knew, I approached them with my newspaper. Their discussion stopped, and we just looked at each other. My earlier amusement about the headline cooled rapidly as I saw that they had not seen the joke. After what seemed an eternity, someone mentioned the yesterday's big soccer game . . . I just listened.

This episode was my introduction to Egypt's mass media. My friends' obvious belief of the headline illustrated the effectiveness of Nasser's propaganda system.

The government in Cairo had developed the mass media as a tool to associate the people with the government. All newspapers in the country are censored. News is presented from the government viewpoint and in a manner calculated to gain public support for government policies.

Radio and television are also government controlled and operated. Most every Egyptian has access to a radio, and portable transistors are widespread treasures. All coffee houses are equipped with radios blaring the latest government news and opinion. Television has become more widespread in recent years, and the Egyptian government has been supplying each village center with a television set. T.V. avoids the handicaps of both newspapers and radio. It communicates to the illiterate as well as to the educated, and unlike radio, makes use of pictures as well as words to convey ideas.

The government controlled system of mass communications greatly influences the conceptions which the individual Egyptian has about the United States

and the Soviet Union, not to mention a myriad of other topics. While these individual opinions might be considered unimportant or inconclusive, they do offer an insight into the Egyptian mind.

The use of the mass media has served the Cairo government well. Each year in December, the Egyptians celebrate Victory Day--the day Egyptian forces triumphed over Israeli forces in the Sinai. Although the Egyptians had suffered a crushing defeat, the propaganda was so effective that it is difficult today to find an Egyptian who knows the truth.

That night, after the incident over the headline, I forced a discussion with some of the Arabs in my dormitory. Did my Arab friends, I asked, really think the United States would invade Syria? The dam was broken! Yes, there was no doubt, said one Jordanian, that the United States would invade Syria. The reason was simple. Syria had a powerful army and was threatening to destroy Israel. The United States would never allow Israel to be destroyed because the Jews ran the U.S. government by controlling all the mass media. After all, the Jews themselves call Israel the "fifty-first state".

In addition, the American government was anti-Nasser. My friends said that Washington was trying to run the Middle East just like the British and French had, and they therefore resented Nasser who was trying to keep the Middle East for the Arabs. Three examples of this anti-Nasser policy struck me with particular force.

One Egyptian explained to me how the United States had secretly encouraged the British and French to attack Egypt in 1956 in order to overthrow Nasser. When the American government realized they would fail, it publicly condemned the invasion to try to curry Arab favor. "But we Arabs were not deceived," the Egyptian said. The opposite is true, but it is impossible to change thinking molded by years of propaganda.

In February, a small shopkeeper invited me to his home for the evening. Since I was the first American to have ever entered his house, he had invited all his family and friends to meet me. The evening was progressing smoothly until one of the guests looked straight at me and asked, "Why does the United States use food as an axe over our President's head?" The question was referring to the American refusal to renew shipments of surplus food to Egypt under P.L. 480. The questioner

could not understand why the United States would allow people to starve just to embarrass Nasser.

This incident illustrated one of the commonly held opinions in Egypt concerning the United States. America is widely criticized for using foreign aid as a lever to force weaker states to adopt aligned positions at the international level. Our food program is the most recent example, but our refusal to finance the Aswan Dam is, by far, the most notoriously cited case.



Our aid to the more conservative regimes in the area is a further indication to some Arabs that the United States is anti-Nasser. I asked three Arabs from the West Bank of the Jordan River if they considered themselves Jordanian. They replied that they were Palestinians and would always be Palestinians regardless of what Western stooge tried to control the area. One student said that the only reason the Arab Legion had not smashed through Israel to the sea in 1948 was that the British and Americans forced their stooge, King Abdullah of Jordan, to stop. "No true Arab would ever follow a hired turncoat like Hussein," another Jordanian declared. "Our only hope is Nasser, and all the money in the world will not keep Hussein in power."

There is also a view of the Soviet Union, but it is not nearly so deep or widespread. The newspapers portray the Soviet Union as the friend of the Arabs, and most Arabs are aware that Moscow stepped in to fund the

billions-dollar Aswan Dam when the West pulled out. They point to this aid without strings as an honorable transaction.

Most Arabs also remember Russian assistance in the 1956 crisis as of paramount importance in stopping the aggression. Few remember the late date at which the Soviets began their diplomatic support.

The Arabs read daily of the Soviet position in the United Nations. Not only on the diplomatic level, but also on the military level, the Arabs see

and American aircraft had participated in the Israeli attack. Many people have discussed its international ramifications, but it also had domestic significance. Such an accusation, if accepted at home, would remove part of the blame for defeat from Nasser.

Writing some three months after the war, an American friend of mine, who had returned to Cairo to pack his personal property, said that he was astonished to find that even Egyptians who were quite westernized in thought believed that the United States

had actively assisted Israel. He

wondered how America can ever hope to recover her position in the Middle East. If even the westernized Egyptians believe such a lie.

The question is a good one, but it is one that need not be too pressing. Nasser can and will continue to use his propaganda to cement the public response he wants. This fact is also known by the Soviets. If and when Nasser decides he wants to improve Egyptian-American relations, there will occur a corresponding improvement in the treatment which the United States is now receiving from Nasser's public information henchmen. In the meantime, Washington need not worry about Egypt falling into the Communist orbit. Nasser, a nationalist, no more favors Communist domination than that of the West.

The Russians today enjoy widespread popularity in Egypt as a result of their diplomatic and military aid since the June War. They are, in addition, aware that that popularity could vanish overnight should Nasser alter his present policy of giving the Russians a favorable press. Large assistance programs of recent months make that change less likely, but no less possible.

In the recent June War, Nasser hoped once again to salvage victory from defeat by using his exclusive control over the news in Egypt. He declared that British

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freedom of public opinion supported Israel's demand for a settlement.

But the Russians are tenacious. Recently Kosygin told Life Magazine that the United States are "playing with fire" by supporting Israel. He warned that U.S. prestige in the Arab world has fallen and has become "simply non-existent." Kosygin's confidence that the Soviet Union will win all the Arabs away from us is the nightmare which obsesses those who have always deprecated support for Israel out of fear of Arab resentment.

His campaign is furthered by those who exaggerate the extent of Soviet propaganda gains.

We should not minimize the purpose and extent of the Russian offensive. Manifestly, the Russians would like to subvert U.S. and British influence and power in the Mediterranean, down the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf. They would like to reduce the threat posed by the Western military presence. They would like to promote campaigns for nationalization and reduce the flow of income from oil to Western depositories and stockholders.

The argument that we must force Israel to retreat in order to compete with the Russians for Arab good-will evokes painful memories. In pre-Munich days, appeasement of the Arabs distorted Western policy in Palestine and many thousands of Jews paid a terrible price. In the 1930's, the British feared that the Arabs would go over to the Nazis (as many did) and so they limited and restricted Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine, barring escape for many Jews who later perished in Hitler's death chambers. (King Hussein's recent speech at Georgetown University in which he blamed Zionists for the world's failure to provide haven and sanctuary is a grievous dis-

tortion of history.) After World War II, the British again bowed to Arab pressure, barred survivors of the Hitler camp from Palestine and pushed them off to Cyprus.

When the British took the Palestine problem to the United Nations, the Cold War had already begun, and the U.S. Department of State was reluctant to endorse any plan for a Jewish state, in all or part of Palestine, because of the fear that the Arabs would go over to the Russians. But when Andrei Gromyko made a speech endorsing statehood for the Jewish people, in May 1947, newspapermen were quick to point out that if the Russians could take this forthright position, the United States was free to do the same which was what U.S. public opinion was demanding. The Russians then believed that the future Israel might be oriented to Moscow. Disillusioned, the Russians later swung their support to the radical Arabs.

Since that time, the United Nations has been stultified in the handling of any Palestine issue because the Soviet veto shields the Arabs. They have been able to remain in a state of war, without censure. American policy now aims to end that state of war, once and for all. Can the Russians move us from that position?

We have learned, over the years, that when we go along with the Russians and adopt a pro-Arab posture at the United Nations, it is the Russians who get the credit. For the Arabs conclude logically that we are forced to compete with the Russians for their favor.

We should not exaggerate the extent of Soviet success. The Economist of Jan. 20 concedes that in contrast to the "gloomy outlook" facing the Russians last June, "their present recovery seems spectacular." Yet, it continues, "the men in the Kremlin

probably know that things are not as triumphant as they look." It points out that the "memory of Russia's failure to rescue the Arabs from defeat last June must act as a brake on Egyptian strategy. . . there is still a chance that if the Russians fail to deliver the political goods, the Egyptians may be tempted to look westwards or at least to revert to a balancing act."

Which suggests that the United States should not help the Russians deliver the "political goods." Nothing would be gained by this kind of self-defeating tactic. We cannot expect Israel to agree to accept a return to the conditions which led to last summer's explosion, because of the hope of an illusory tactical gain in the Cold War. And, more important, it would be wrong in principle. A principle of the U.N. charter is at stake. Nations are obligated to live at peace with each other.

Sir Basil Liddell Hart, world-famous strategist, does not believe that Israel should withdraw from what has become a vital security area. In Encounter for February 1968, he writes: "It is to be hoped that the Israelis will be able to withstand any pressure to give up this 'security area' and that there will be no British or American pressure, even well-meaning pressure, to give it up in the supposed hope of conciliating her enemies. Past experience of Arab politicians offers no ground of hope in such conciliation. A better chance lies in the possibility of non-political Arabs coming to see the advantages of cooperation with Israel for the benefit of the Middle East in general."

How valid is the fear that the Arabs will all go over to the Soviet Union? Some of the Arab states would prove to be heavy liabilities. Thus, the Russians know that they cannot carry the burdens of the Egyptian economy

alone. They need help from the West here, as on the diplomatic front.

Accordingly, there was a Russian reversal last summer. They long encouraged Nasser to widen the gulf between radicals and reactionaries in the Arab world. But after their defeat the Russians counseled Nasser to make his peace with Saudi Arabia and other conservative Arabs at the Khartoum summit conference. A curious "partnership" was arranged: Moscow provides Egypt with arms; the oil-rich Arab countries keep Nasser afloat with subsidies, which they are able to pay because they sell their oil to the West. Moreover, Western oil companies are now helping Egypt to produce, refine and market oil.

The tensions of the last 20 years argue for a settlement. The West will gain nothing by weakening Israel or by rewarding those in the Arab world who

peace and if we do not yield to temptation or pressure.

We failed in the past. Just 20 years ago, in March 1948, we reversed ourselves and attempted to set aside the U.N. partition resolution, as our U.S. delegation called for a special U.N. session and proposed trusteeship. It was futile and unrealistic, but Arabs have never forgotten how they were able to pressure the United States. In 1957 we took a one-sided position. We forced Israel to withdraw from Suez and Sinai without a peace settlement and on the basis of vague assumptions that the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal would be open to international shipping. This, too, turned out to be a disastrous blunder as we came to realize last May, when Nasser closed the Straits--the button that set off the war.

But now the United States is pressing for a peace settlement.

'The West will gain nothing by weakening Israel or by rewarding those in the Arab world who have always used Soviet threat as blackmail.'

have always used the Soviet threat as blackmail. The Soviet Union has given no indication that it really wants an Arab-Israeli peace. It exploits that, and every other conflict in the region, to embarrass the West and to woo the Arabs.

We will make our most significant contribution to the welfare of the peoples of the Near East--Arabs and Jewish--to the resettlement of refugees, to regional co-operation and development, if we stand inflexibly for

If we hold firm we may induce the Russians to change their line. There is some hope that Arab leadership may come to understand that Arabs have gained little from their wars and have much more to gain from peace. Someday a liberal Arab leadership may recognize that Arab nationalism has no exclusive right to a national life, and that all the people of the area will benefit by co-operation. Arabs and Jews can live together and should try.

Said--from p. 4

Mideast Polarized by Battle of Ideologies

Communism and territorial guarantees, supported by selling arms have been in the interest of neither the United States nor the Middle Eastern states. These policies have helped to foster armed camps which intensify the consequences of conflict.

Before discussing proposals for a new American policy orientation it is necessary to recall the inherent limitations on U.S. policy in the Middle East. Non-military American policy options, including aid and technical assistance and diplomatic pressure, preclude any great degree of American influence over the policies of the region. American military intervention similarly gives the United States only illusive and precarious power.

During the next ten years more shifts in power alignments and domestic competition between civilian and military, technocratic and ideological or charismatic elites, will characterize the Middle East. This endemic political fluidity will limit the possibility of much American control.

Recognizing these limitations upon American foreign policy, what constitutes a positive American policy towards the Middle East? Politically, the United States should attempt to encourage the inherent fluidity of the region. It should also, however, attempt to structure the shifts of political alignments by inducing

Turkey and Iran to become Middle Eastern powers and Iraq to assume a more active role in regional politics. Third parties like France, Britain, and Germany could facilitate this policy. The existence of such powers could offer the other states of the region alternative outlets for the exercise of their external sovereignties.

This political dimension of a positive American policy can be implemented only by supporting or opposing governments without regard for their domestic or external ideological commitments. The United States and European states should offer political support to Turkey, Jordan, Iraq, Iran and Israel. The United States should qualify the guarantee particularly to Israel to force that state to feel the need to find allies in the region. The United States should recognize the inherent counter-productive effects of the Truman and Eisenhower Doctrines and CENTO which have merely tended to introduce Cold War tensions and polarize the states in the Middle East into pro- or anti-Western camps. It should recognize that the political cost of American bases in Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Morocco outweigh any strategic American gains. In short, the United States should support governments with the purpose of fracturing the transnational alignments which now exist.

What would this fluid regional system

with several poles of power imply for the states of the Middle East? Israel would find it both easier and necessary to become integrated into the system, because it would no longer be either threatened by a combination of all Arab states or protected by the American guarantee. The polarized camps of reactionary, monarchist, anti-Communist states and of revolutionary, populist, socialist states would dissolve into non-ideological alignments. The security of all states in the region would be increased by diminishing the possibility of hostile and rigid coalitions being formed against them; all would find increased safety in multiple centers of power competing with one another, perhaps, along constructive channels.

The second dimension of a positive U.S. policy consists of Middle Eastern-American social and economic cooperation to affect revolution in the area. This concerted effort must rest on the elaboration of those areas of interest that are common to the Middle Eastern states and the United States. Generally speaking, these may be limited to questions of Arab-Israeli relations, settlement of outstanding border disputes among several states of the region, and narrowing the widening gap between human needs and resources in the region.

This common effort should take a decidedly regional cast; it must not become a part of Cold War calculations,

Rather, it must rest firmly on the identity of specifically Middle Eastern and American interests. Extra-regional cooperation should proceed on an ad hoc basis and divergent interests and resultant policies should be tolerated.

Middle Eastern-American cooperation implies a mutually beneficial relationship among the states of the Middle East and between the Middle East and the United States. It does not describe objective realities as much as it indicates worthwhile possibilities. It does not assume the existence of an indivisible Middle Eastern-American community of interest; rather, it points the way to realistic achievements which can be gained through coordination. It requires little but inspires much.

This concurrent effort should not be conceived as a means of perpetuating Washington's "leadership of the free world" but rather as a way to increase jointly the ability of the Middle East and America to deal effectively with identifiable common problems, including regional development and aggression from outside or inside of the region. Admittedly, these concerns will be qualitatively different from those originally assumed by the United States since World War II in the Middle East. Washington must decide between realistic achievements and improbable possibilities.

Glubb--from p. 5

'Soviets Engineered Egypt's Defeat'

Zionists demanded the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Unfortunately that country was already fully populated by people who had lived there for thousands of years and who, incidentally, had never persecuted Jews.

There was not room in Palestine for the indigenous inhabitants and for a Jewish state. The Zionist project, therefore, involved the liquidation of the population of Palestine.

Britain and the United States enjoyed undisputed power in the area. Moreover it must be realized that both countries were also greatly admired and actively imitated. The Russians were regarded as immoral atheists, beyond the pale of decent human society.

The Palestine question presented a problem. Two entirely different cultures and ethnic groups wished to live in the same small country. The entry of the new group would involve the extermination or the eviction of the existing inhabitants. Here indeed was a situation requiring real statesmanship. Britain and the United States held the power to solve it as they saw fit.

If the United States had adopted a wise, judicial attitude, calling both parties, weighing the pros and cons and seeking a wise solution, the balance of power in the world today would be very different. Unfortunately, for reasons too long to discuss here, this was not done. The U.S. government decided to offer its entire support to Israel. Until 1948, no other Middle East government had taken any active part in the settlement of the Palestine problem, which rested wholly with the United States and Britain.

When, however, both the Great Powers supported Israel instead of taking a judicial attitude, the neighbours of Palestine--Egypt, Jordan and Syria particularly--felt themselves under an obligation to support the people of Palestine. This widened the field of the contest, involving some of the most vital strategic areas in the world. The involvement of such vital geopolitical factors as the control of Egypt and the Mediterranean did not, however, produce any change in the attitude of the U.S. government.

Resentment of this attitude resulted in a gradual drawing together of Russia, Syria and Egypt, a process greatly expedited in 1956 when Mr. Dulles refused American help for the Aswan Dam.

We now come to the consideration of the extraordinary skill shown by Russia in the "small war" of 1967. Early that year, a meeting of the military chiefs of the Arab countries had decided that their armies were not in a position to fight Israel and that it was essential to avoid war. In May 1967, however, the Russians warned Egypt that Israel was about to attack Syria, as a result of which President Nasser sent his army into Sinai. He did not explain his intentions to his Arab allies, with whom he had agreed a short time before that he was not in a position to fight Israel.

Although his Arab allies were completely taken by surprise, the Russians obviously had prior knowledge of Nasser's intention, for they immediately issued a statement supporting his action and sent their warships from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean.

These ships were not intended to fight the American Sixth Fleet, as Moscow immediately called Washington on the hot line to say that they did not want a confrontation. It is obvious, therefore, that the dispatch of the Russian fleet was intended:

- 1) To encourage the Egyptians to fight the Israelis.
- 2) To get a Russian fleet established in the Egyptian naval bases as allies of Egypt.

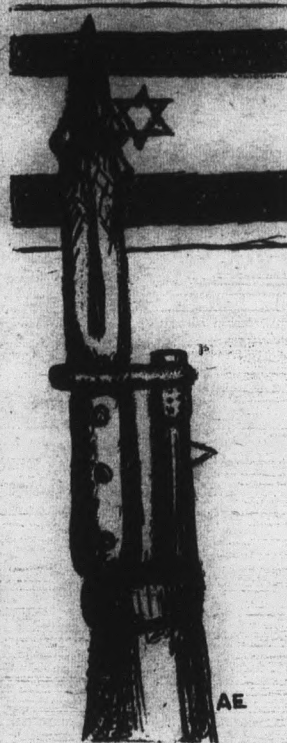
As soon as these threatening moves took place, the United States government issued a statement strongly supporting Israel. If it had adopted a more judicial attitude, or had attempted to call an international conference to study the claims of both sides, the outcome might have been different. Unequivocal American support for Israel was, however, what the Russians wanted. It destroyed any hope the Arab countries might have had of obtaining aid from the West. The Israelis, thereupon, took

the initiative and defeated their neighbours in six days, their forces actually reaching the Suez Canal. Egypt, utterly humiliated and defeated, was in a desperate situation, when (remarkable coincidence!) the Russian fleet arrived. A short time afterwards came the President of the Soviet Union, several Russian generals and thousands of Russian officers, technicians and officials. The Russians took over the Egyptian army and the Russian fleet lay in Egyptian ports. Far from resisting the Russian take-over, the Egyptians welcomed them as allies to defend them against an Israeli invasion.

The American and the British press were so bewildered by this brilliant Russian coup that they first expressed great jubilation, imagining that Russia, having been a friend of Egypt, would have lost prestige by the defeat of her ally. Only now, eight or nine months after these events, are we beginning to realize that Russia engineered

the defeat of Egypt to facilitate her own take-over. Only now are we beginning to realize that a major shift in the world balance of power in favour of Russia has resulted from the little war of June 1967.

In spite of her sweeping victory, Israel herself is confronted by a critical situation. The greater her military strength, the more aggressive her attitude and the more complete is American support for her, the more will the Arab countries--and even the whole Muslim world--invoke Russian support. Tiny Israel, isolated at the eastern end of the Mediterranean in an area inhabited solely by Russian satellites, would be in a precarious position. Not, indeed, that Russia would wish to eliminate Israel for, if she did so, the Arabs would have no further need of Russian help. A militarily aggressive Israel, supported by funds from America, is necessary for the further expansion of Russian domination.



THE HEART FUND'S 24-hr. MARATHON

BOUNCE



BEATS



MARCH 8

9:00 A. M.

PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS:

**GEO WASHINGTON
GEORGETOWN
CATHOLIC**

**HOWARD
TRINITY
AMERICAN**



GIVE SO MORE WILL LIVE